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Angus Matheson





# CORNELII TACITI ANNALIUM

LIBRI XIII-XVI

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES  
ABRIDGED FROM THE LARGER WORK  
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## PREFACE

THIS abridgement has been made under the belief that the interest of Tacitus' history of the reign of Nero makes it a suitable subject for school reading, and in the hope that such a book may serve the needs of students desiring a less copious and advanced commentary than Mr. Furneaux' large edition of the *Annals*.

The text is that contained in the second volume of the larger work, and is mainly that of Halm (ed. 4, Leipzig, 1883), from which it varies in places in the direction of retaining or approaching more closely to the readings of the Medicean MS.

In the Introductions and Notes Mr. Furneaux' conclusions are carefully followed, though occasionally slight verbal alterations are made in his renderings, and of some passages, left without comment in the large edition, I have inserted explanations or translations where these seemed appropriate to a less advanced work. In the Introduction on Syntax I have followed the lines of that given in the abridged edition of *Annals* i-iv, supplying illustrations from Books xiii-xvi: sections in which I have ventured on certain extensions or modifications of the original treatment are §§ 3 b, 16, 20, 22, and the last two paragraphs of § 41.

My best thanks are due to my friend and colleague, Professor F. Brooks, of University College, Bristol, for his kind help in the work of scrutinizing the proof-sheets for misprints or mis-statements.

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Feb., 1904.

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# INTRODUCTION

## I

### LIFE OF TACITUS

§ 1. OUR knowledge of the chief facts and dates in the life of Tacitus rests mainly on allusions in his own writings and those of his friend the younger Pliny, who addresses several letters to him and often speaks of him in others.

His praenomen is not mentioned in this correspondence, and is differently given by later authorities as Gaius or Publius. His family connexions are unknown; but he would appear to have been the first of his name to attain senatorial rank, though of sufficient position to have begun his 'cursus honorum' at the earliest, or almost the earliest, legal age; as he can hardly have been born earlier than 52-54 A. D., and must have been quaestor not later than 79 A. D., by which time he had also received in marriage the daughter of Agricola, who was already a consular, and one of the first men in the State.

His boyhood falls thus under the time of Nero; his assumption of the 'toga virilis' would coincide, or nearly so, with the terrible year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; his early manhood was spent under Vespasian and Titus; the prime of his life under Domitian; the memory of whose tyranny is seen in all his historical writings, which were composed at various dates in the great time of Trajan.

Most of his life may be supposed to have been spent in Rome, where he became one of the leaders of the Bar, and one of the best known literary names of Rome; so that a stranger sitting next to him at the games, and finding him to be a man of letters, asked whether he was speaking to Tacitus or to Pliny<sup>1</sup>. He is further known<sup>2</sup> as having been consul suffectus and in that capacity colleague with Nerva in 97 A. D., and as associated with Pliny in the prosecution of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, in

<sup>1</sup> Plin. *Ep.* ix 23, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* ii 1, 6.

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100 A. D.<sup>1</sup> This is the last fact in his life definitely known, and there is no evidence that he outlived Trajan.

§ 2. The *Annals*, more properly entitled 'Libri ab excessu divi Augusti,' comprising in sixteen Books the history of fifty-four years from the death of Augustus to that of Nero, are the latest in date of his writings, and are shown by an allusion to the Eastern conquests of Trajan (ii 61, 2), to have been published at some date not earlier than 115 A. D., and probably before the retrocession of the Eastern frontier under Hadrian in 117 A. D. The first six Books, comprising the principate of Tiberius, rest on a single manuscript, called the First Medicean, written probably in the tenth or eleventh century, and now preserved at Florence. The text of Books xiii-xvi, given in this volume, is based on a MS. known as the Second Medicean, which contains all that we have of Books xi-xvi, besides all the extant part of the Histories, with the exception of i 69-75 and i 86-ii 2. It is known to have been sent from Florence to Rome in 1427 A. D., but it was shortly afterwards returned to Florence, where it passed to the Convent of St. Mark, and thence to the Laurentian Library, where it still remains. Other existing MSS. cannot be proved to be of earlier date, and are generally regarded as based, if not on the Medicean MS. itself, at any rate on the same source as that from which it was taken, their variations being either attempted emendations or preserving the right text in places where the original letters of Med. have become illegible and been reproduced by a later hand.

### *Materials available to Tacitus.*

§ 3. In xiii 17, 3 Tacitus refers to 'plerique eorum temporum scriptores.' Among those whose writings he consulted was C. Plinius Secundus (Pliny the Elder), who continued the history of Aufidius Bassus from the point where it ended, probably the reign of Claudius, to the fall of Jerusalem, and also wrote a separate history of Germany. His authority is definitely quoted, xiii 20, 3; xv 53, 4; and perhaps xiii 31, 1 contains a reference to him, but with the exception of the Natural History his works are lost to us. Other historians definitely quoted are M. Cluvius Rufus and Fabius Rusticus. The former (xiii 20, 3; xiv 2, 1), who

<sup>1</sup> Plin. *Ep.* ii 11, 2.

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was consul some time before the death of Gaius, a companion of Nero in Greece, legatus of Spain under Galba, and one of Vitellius' courtiers, is thought to have written a history covering the period from Gaius to Vitellius, which was perhaps used by Josephus in his account of Gaius' death, and consulted by Plutarch as well as Tacitus. Fabius Rusticus (quoted in the same passages as Cluvius) is described as too partial to Seneca, but as being in eloquence and brilliancy the Livy of his age (*Agr.* 10, 3): he described Britain, so perhaps his history began with Claudius' reign, and there are no allusions to it with reference to events later than Nero's time. Tacitus also refers to Corbulo's memoirs (xv 16, 1) in his account of affairs in the East, and may also have consulted those of Suetonius Paulinus (used by Pliny, *N. H.*) for events in Britain.

Other available materials would be biographies, such as those of Thræsea and Helvidius by Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, funeral orations on famous men, and letters of public men collected and published like those of the younger Pliny. There were also the public records: 'acta' or 'commentarii senatus' had been kept since the first consulship of Julius Caesar, who at the same time also started the 'acta diurna urbis,' the daily gazette chronicling proceedings in the courts and chief events of public importance; and Tacitus made use of both; e.g. xv 74, 3; iii 3, 2. The events of which he wrote, too, were sufficiently near to his own day for a considerable amount of tradition about them to be still existing and worth recording, as the frequency of 'ferunt,' 'traditur,' &c., before stories cited by him indicates.

### *Historical value of the Annals.*

§ 4. As Dio complains, it was more difficult for historians to get at the truth under the Empire than under the Republic. Politics were no longer for the general public; in jurisdiction, in the administration of the provinces, and in the conduct of war, much was done by the princeps and his private advisers that could only become known from official versions issued at the time, or from such reminiscences as generals or imperial officials cared to publish subsequently. Persons outside government circles remained at the mercy of the official version: reminiscences of a general might be mere self-glorification. Tacitus believed himself to be writing

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impartially, and was a diligent student and compiler of materials, aiming at basing his narrative on a 'consensus auctorum.' But like other ancient historians he probably had little sense of the necessity of correctly estimating the intrinsic merits of the authors from whom he drew his material. And in the earlier part of the *Annals* it is more than probable that his portrait of Tiberius is unfairly coloured, because he has drawn for his facts upon authorities violently prejudiced against that monarch. For such suspicions against the subject-matter of the four last books there is less foundation. The events there recorded took place in Tacitus' own childhood: as a young man he must have had frequent opportunity of meeting and talking with people who had lived under Nero, and in the light of what he heard from them he would be less likely to be misled by the writers whom he consulted, if they were guilty of misrepresentation. And these writers were certainly in a position to know the facts.

### *Tacitus' conception of the function of history.*

§ 5. Tacitus' professed purpose in writing history is a moral one, 'to rescue virtue from oblivion, and that base words and deeds should have the fear of posthumous infamy' (iii 65, 1); he wishes, in fact, to influence men in the right direction by holding up examples of noble conduct for imitation, of base conduct for avoidance. At the same time it is his aim to point out the right political conduct for the subjects of the principate; 'how even under bad princes there can be good citizens' (*Agr.* 42, 5); that the best course is at the same time the safest, and is one of dignified moderation, such as that followed by Manius Lepidus under Tiberius, Memmius Regulus under Nero, and Agricola under Domitian, avoiding on the one hand the vile obsequiousness of the flatterers and tools, who after all were discarded by their master or punished by his successor, and on the other such truculent and ostentatious opposition as that of Helvidius Priscus, inviting and incurring destruction.

This point of view gives his work a wider range than that of a mere biographer like Suetonius. To Tacitus the general working of the Roman system is interesting as a field for the display of character, and events are selected and represented in illustration



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of the motives of the agents. This outlook makes him careless about exact details of strategy, geography, and chronology, such as are expected of a modern historian, and brings him into line with the satirists, whom he further resembles in his bold characterization, his vivid contrasts and tendencies to exaggeration, and the epigrammatic style of his diction.

### II

#### ON THE SYNTAX AND STYLE OF TACITUS

NOTE—Most of what is here said is applicable to the writings of Tacitus as a whole, and especially to the *Annales*; but the instances given are almost wholly from the four Books contained in this volume.

By the time of Tacitus, Latin prose composition had already departed much from the standard of Cicero or Caesar, through the frequent adoption of words and forms of expression from the great classic poets, who had by that time become textbooks in every grammar-school; also through an increasing tolerance of Greek words and grammatical Graecisms, partly due to such study of Augustan poetry, partly to an increasing taste for what was Greek as such<sup>1</sup>.

The special qualities of the style of Tacitus have been held to consist chiefly in rhetorical or poetical colouring, in the study of brevity, and in that of variety; all of which characteristics are no doubt due mainly to his professional career<sup>2</sup>. He has himself told us that the pleader in his day could no longer expatiate like Cicero, but was bound to be terse, epigrammatic, and striking, and to grace his style with poetic colouring from the treasury of Vergil and Horace, or even from more recent poets<sup>3</sup>. In falling in with this fashion, Tacitus draws the poetic element in his style almost exclusively from Vergil, to whom he is repeatedly and abundantly indebted; while his chief prose models are Sallust and Livy, his great predecessors in the field of

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal mentions (7, 226) the use of Horace and Vergil as school-books, and also dwells at length (3, 61 foll.) on the extent to which the Rome of his day had become Greek.

<sup>2</sup> See Intr. I, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial. de Oratoribus*, 19, 20.

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history<sup>1</sup>. The effort at variety of expression, besides being part of the habitual skill of an orator, is further due to the historian's desire to relieve what he feels to be the oppressive monotony of his subject<sup>2</sup>, by saying the same thing with the utmost variety of expression, by often giving the sentence an unexpected turn, by inventing new words or new senses of words, or reviving such as had become somewhat obsolete.

Of the various usages noted in the following sections, comparatively few are altogether peculiar to Tacitus; but many are new in prose, and all are so far Tacitean that they are used by him with more boldness and freedom than by earlier prose authors.

### A. SYNTAX

[The references in square brackets are to the paragraphs in the Introduction on Syntax, large edition, Vol. I]

#### I. SUBSTANTIVES, ADJECTIVES, AND PRONOUNS.

1 [1, 3]. Abstract nouns are used frequently in place of concrete, most commonly in the plural: *dominationibus aliis fastiditus*, xiii 1, 1; *a clientelis et servitiis Octaviae*, xiv 61, 3; *validam quoque et laudatam antiquitatem*, xv 13, 3; *imperatoriae iuventae*, xiii 2, 2 (cf. *pueritiae Neronis*, xiv 3, 5); *superbia muliebris*, xiii 14, 1; *imbellis aetas*, xiii 54, 2.

Note also the adoption from poets of the adjectival use of substantives in apposition; as *sidus cometes*, xiv 22, 1; *mare Hadria*, xv 34, 2.

2 [4, 6]. A. Adjectives are used substantivally with much freedom; (a) in masc., as *equester*, xiii 10, 3; *militares*, xiv 33, 4. (b) in neut., as *triste . . . providum*, xv 34, 1; *breve et incertum*, xiv 29, 3; *secretum*, xvi 25, 2; in *incerto*, xv 36, 1; *imaginem honesti*, xvi 32, 3 (cf. also *scripto usum*, xiii 23, 3). (c) neut. plur., *suprema* (= death), xvi 11, 3.

B. Adjectives are often used adverbially, as secondary predi-

<sup>1</sup> See below, § 68.

<sup>2</sup> See iv 32 and 33.

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cates, as *steterunt diversi*, xvi 30, 4; *frequens adesse*, xiii 35, 7; *priores audere (pugnam)*, xiii 36, 1; *properi inferuntur*, xvi 11, 4.

3 [8]. (*a*) Pronouns belonging to the third person are often omitted, especially in the accus., even so as sometimes to involve harshness or obscurity: thus *se* is omitted in xiii 49, 5; xv 27, 3; xv 43, 2; *eum*, xiv 52, 3; *eos*, xv 52, 2.

(*b*) The indefinite *quis* is not confined to subordinate clauses introduced by *si*, *ne*, &c.; see xiii 57, 6; xiv 33, 6; xv 38, 3; xvi 19, 5.

### II. CASES.

#### A. *Accusative.*

4 [11]. The poetical or Greek accusative of the part concerned, rare in prose, is employed: *praeriguisse manus*, xiii 35, 6; *frigidus artus*, xv 64, 3; *flexus genu*, xvi 4, 3.

5 [10]. The accusative of the place towards which motion takes place is used without preposition: *Oceanum decurrerent*, xiii 53, 3.

6 [12]. Transitive accusatives are used

(*a*) in apposition to the sentence, i.e. explanatory of an action described, not of a single substantive in the sentence; xiv 53, 4; xvi 8, 1; xvi 17, 4.

(*b*) after verbs expressing mental feelings; *agmen pavescere*, xiv 30, 2.

(*c*) after compound verbs, where a dative or a repetition of the preposition with its proper case would be regular; *malos prae-mineret*, xv 34, 3; *munimenta propugnabant*, xv 13, 2; *genua advolvi*, xv 71, 1.

7 [14]. The use of adverbial accusatives, as *id temporis*, xiii 18, 1, is extended, new forms being introduced, as *idem aetatis*, xiii 16, 1.

#### B. *Dative.*

8 (*a*) [15]. After compound verbs expressing deprivation Tacitus follows poets and Livy in using dative where ablative with preposition would be more usual: *subtrahere oculis*, xiii 17, 4; *poenae eximere*, xiv 40, 5; *urbi detractum*, xiv 24, 7; &c.

(*b*) [21]. After compound verbs Tacitus follows poets in using dative, rather than *ad* or *in*, as *oneri adhaerentes*, xiii 35, 6;

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moenibus admove, xiii 39, 4; balineis inferuntur, xvi 11, 4; rather than cum, licentiae permixtus, xiii 24, 1; Poppaeae coniungitur, xiv 60, 1.

9 [17]. Dativus Commodi: (a) rebus conducere, xiv 61, 6, and the much bolder non referre dedecori, xv 65, 2, should be noted.

[19]. (b) the dative of a noun, so closely connected with another that a genitive would be expected, is frequent in poets and also in Livy, and still more in Tacitus: cf. ministeria magistratibus et sacerdotibus, xiii 27, 2; flagitiis et sceleribus velamenta, xiii 47, 1; vulneribus ligamenta, xv 54, 4.

10 [18]. The Dative of Agent is used without restriction to the gerundive or adjectives in -bilis, and without any prominence of the idea of the 'interest' of the agent: as Neroni trahebatur, xiii 20, 1: cf. xv 35, 1; sibi compertum, xiii 43, 4; Corbuloni audita, xv 3, 1. To this case rather than ablative should be referred such phrases as cupita aliis, xiii 13, 5; suspecta maioribus, xiv 44, 4; sapientioribus deliberatum, xiv 44, 1; iter Lucullo penetratum, xv 27, 1; parta maioribus, xv 2, 3. See also § 16.

11 [22]. The Dative of Purpose or Work contemplated is very frequent: the gerund or gerundive in this case may follow an adj., as dignam . . . suscipiendo . . . imperio, xiii 14, 3; or stand with a verb, as equivalent to a final clause, as testificando . . . vulgabat, xiii 11, 2; subruendo vallo inducit, xiii 39, 4, and many other instances, e.g. contegendis, xiii 13, 2; supplendis, xiii 7, 1; firmando, xiii 41, 3; visendis, xv 10, 4. The same use of this case is extended to substantives: dux bello delectus, xiii 9, 6; venditioni exposita, xiii 25, 1; verberibus manus intenderent, xiii 26, 2; see also ultioni, xiii 32, 1; viae, xiii 40, 2; sermoni, xiv 53, 1; colloquio, xv 28, 1.

12 [23]. This should be distinguished from 'predicative' datives showing that which a thing or person serves as or occasions, such as spectaculo, xiii 9, 4; crimini, xiii 10, 3; muneri, xiv 31, 3; irrisui, xiv 39, 3; documento, xv 27, 2; ostentui, xv 29, 7; indutui, xvi 4, 2; usui, xvi 19, 5.

### C. Ablative.

13 [24]. The Ablative of *Place whence* is used freely, without preposition, both of proper names, as Italia pellerentur, xiii 25, 4;

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Armenia abscessere, xiii 7, 2; Pontico mari . . . adventantes, xiii 39, 1; and of common names, as cubiculo prorumpit, xiii 44, 6; pellit sedibus, xv 27, 4; often after compound verbs implying separation, as matrimonio depulsam, xiii 19, 2; sententia decessit, xiv 49, 5; demovet cura, xiii 14, 1; exuerent sedibus, xiii 39, 3; contuberniis extracti, xv 13, 2.

14 [25]. The Ablative of *Place at which* is used, without preposition, as freely as in poetry, as Cappadocia, xiii 8, 2; insula Pandateria, xiv 63, 1; tenere se munimentis, xiii 36, 2; curru . . . vehens, xiv 35, 1; foro ac templis, xiv 61, 1; foribus, xv 31, 1; sedilibus, xvi 5, 2. Note also medio, xv 18, 1; xv 29, 5. So too of the way by which, as Rhodano, xiii 53, 3; saltibus (co-ordinated with per lacus), xiii 54, 2.

15 [26]. *Time throughout which* (a post-Augustan use), as reliquo noctis, xiv 10, 1; medio temporis, xiii 28, 3; triumphis, votis, xv 45, 2; triennio, xvi 22, 1. On the other hand Tacitus sometimes uses 'in' to express *time in the course of which*, as in tribunatu plebis, xiv 48, 1.

16 [27]. Instrumental Ablative is sometimes extended to persons (a poetical use), centurione comitatus, xiv 8, 5; Corbuloni certis nuntiis audita sunt, xv 3, 1; repentinis hostibus circumventi, xv 4, 4. The use of this case to describe the force with which military operations are conducted resembles such Greek constructions as αἴπειν στρατῶ: see xv 7, 2 duabus legionibus Armeniam intrat; totis regni viribus advenisse, xv 13, 5; cf. also expeditis legionibus, xiii 41, 1; non infenso exercitu, xiv 23, 1; ipse legionibus citis, xiv 26, 1; which may be referred to this rather than ablative absolute.

17 [28]. The Ablative of Manner or Modal Ablative is employed boldly without any adjective, as vigilatam convivio noctem, xiii 20, 5; see also ignavia, xiv 20, 3; impetu, xiv 32, 5 and xv 38, 4; cuneo, xvi 37, 1.

18 [29]. The Ablative of Quality is often used of persons without the addition of the verb 'esse' or of a common name (cf. § 25), as Plautum magnis opibus, xiv 57, 5; habebatur . . . erudito luxu, xvi 18, 1; Eprum Marcellum acri eloquentia, xvi 22, 10.

19 [30]. The Causal Ablative is used with much freedom in the *Annals*, where a preposition, or 'causa' or 'gratia' with genitive,

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would be expected, both of subjective motives, as *caritate suorum*, xv 38, 7; *spe*, xvi 24, 2; *pugnam imperitia poscebant*, xiii 36, 3 (note also *facinorum recordatione*, xv 36, 3; *inclinatione quadam hostium*, xiii 9, 5); and of objective causes, as *fervore aspernabatur*, xiii 16, 3; *magni nominis miseratione*, xiv 58, 3. Both types are seen in xiv 31, 4, *qua contumelia et metu graviorum*. Note also *non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius*, xv 44, 8; *publica fortuna*, xiv 11, 2; *aequitate deum*, xvi 33, 1; *revolutus ad vitia seu vitiorum imitatione*, xvi 18, 4.

20. A very noticeable extension of this use is its frequent employment as giving the ground of fame, good or bad, as *multarum rerum experientia cognitos*, xiii 6, 4; *experientia probatos*, xiii 29, 3; *cognomento . . . non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum . . . celebre*, xiv 33, 1; *insignis genere fama lascivia*, xiii 19, 2; *celeberrimae luxu famaue*, xv 37, 2; *vita famaue laudatum*, xv 50, 4; *amicitiae fide et arte medicinae probatum*, xv 64, 3; *notum amore uxoris*, xv 53, 5; *Chaldaeorum arte famosum*, xvi 14, 1; *matrimonio senatoris haud ignota*, xvi 20, 1. (So too *ex primoribus peritia legum*, xiii 30, 3.)

21 [31]. Ablative absolute: some characteristic uses should be noticed:

(a) the participle sometimes stands in ablative neuter without noun or pronoun, *multum disceptato*, xv 14, 4; *semel edito*, xvi 16, 3.

(b) the neuter ablative of the participle stands as predicate, with a sentence as subject, as *satis comperto Vologesen attineri*, xiii 37, 6; *scripto . . . ut . . . ostenderet*, xiii 56, 4; see also *cognito*, xiv 34, 2; *praedicto*, xvi 33, 3. (Such an ablative neuter participle may be sometimes understood from a participle previously used in another gender; cf. xiv 33, 2; xv 1, 1.)

(c) ablative absolute is sometimes used though the words might be brought into more direct construction with the verb of the sentence, as *perfecto demum scelere magnitudo eius intellecta est*, xiv 10, 1; *cunctantibus* (sc. *coniuratis*) . . . *Epicharis* . . . *arguere coniuratos*, xv 51, 1; *hausto veneno, tarditatem eius perosus*, xvi 14, 6.

(d) the ablative is thus used by itself without demonstrative or relative pronoun when the subject can easily be supplied from the sense; as *vulgantibus*, xiii 7, 1; *promittentibus*, xiii 15, 8.

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(e) there is frequently an omission of the antecedent pronoun, where a relative clause follows participle or adjective; *adulantibus qui . . .*, xiv 47, 1; *sociis . . . quos*, xiv 40, 4; *apertis quae*, xv 27, 1, &c.

22. It should be remembered that the ablative has the wide general function of expressing the circumstances attendant on an action. This explains

(a) the frequent occurrence of a substantive and adjective in ablative not definitely referable to the categories 'absolute,' 'causal,' &c., which are names for special developments of the general function. Besides ordinary 'absolute' ablatives like *acri etiam tum libertate*, xiii 50, 3; *incolumi Agrippina*, xiv 1, 1; *mediis decimanorum delectis*, xiii 40, 3; there are many for which 'ablative of attendant circumstance' would be a better name, as *crebra vulgi fama*, xiii 1, 2; *magnis patrum laudibus*, xiii 11, 1; *difficili effugio*, xiv 37, 3; *nulla palam causa*, xiv 32, 1; see also xv 29, 4. Sometimes there is an approach to the 'causal' use, as *errore longo*, xiii 56, 6; *talibus literis*, xv 25, 1; *tali iam Britannici exitio*, xiv 3, 3. In xv 54, 1 *multo sermone*, and xvi 31, 1 *longo fletu et silentio*, the ablatives have the form of ablative of 'description,' but are co-ordinated with a past participle and accompanied with adverbs of time, showing that they are meant to indicate action, as though equivalent to past participles, i.e. = ablative absolute. This makes the strange ablative of description *dux diversis artibus*, xiv 23, 3, more intelligible.

(b) the ablative of gerund or gerundive as equivalent to a present participle or temporal clause introduced by *dum*; as *trahens, callidumque et simulatorem interpretando*, xiii 47, 1; *exercendo*, xiv 20, 5; *in edita assurgens et rursus inferiora populando*, xv 38, 4; *exturbabant . . . appellando*, xiv 31, 5; *explenda simulatione* (causal, cf. § 19), xiv 4, 8; *percursando*, xv 8, 3; *protegendo*, xv 57, 3; *alendo*, xvi 30, 1.

### D. *Genitive.*

23 [32]. Partitive or quasi-partitive. Such are abundant, the partitive meaning being often lost sight of, and the construction being equivalent, as in poetry (e.g. '*strata viarum*,' *Lucr. Verg.*), to a simple substantive and adjective.

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(a) after neut. sing., as *reliquo noctis*, xiv 10, 1; *lubricum adolescentiae*, xiv 56, 2; plus *feminarum*, xiv 36, 1; *nihil hostium*, xiv 34, 2; *idem virium*, xiv 52, 1; *quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est*, xiv 43, 2.

(b) after neut. plur., as *reliqua belli*, xiv 38, 1; *cuncta scelerum*, xiv 60, 1; *occulta coniurationis*, xv 74, 1.

(c) after masc. or fem., also frequently, as with *pauci*, *multi*, &c. : and in expressions like *obvii servorum*, xiv 8, 3; *praevalidi provincialium*, xv 20, 1.

(d) with adverbs, as *eo contemptiois descensum*, xv 1, 2.

(e) '*pensi habere*,' xiii 15, 5, adopted from previous writers, is referred to this head by Madvig, but to the genitive (or locative) of price by Roby (1186).

24 [33]. Objective Genitive.

(a) with verbs. The elliptical genitive, common with verbs of accusing and judging, is extended to new examples, as *interrogare*, xiii 14, 2; *deferre*, xiv 48, 2; *aemulationis suspectos*, xiii 9, 2.

(b) with participles, frequently, as with *cupiens*, xvi 6, 1; *patiens*, xv 6, 6; and (according to one reading) *retinens*, xvi 5, 1.

(c) with adjectives, frequently; the genitive sometimes expressing the direct object, where accusative with participle might be substituted, as *imminentium nescius*, xv 9, 2; or a more remote object, where ablative with *de* would be usual, as *certus eventus*, xiv 36, 5; *incuriosum fratris*, xv. 31, 1; oftenest expressing the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person, as *procax otii et potestatis temperantior*, xiii 46, 5; *morum diversus*, xiv 19; *morum spernendus*, xiv 40, 3; *laborum segnes*, xiv 33, 4; *maeroris immodicus*, xv 23, 5; *occasionum haud segnis*, xvi 14, 1; and *manifestus*, with *vanitatis*, xiii 23, 2; *criminum*, xiii 26, 5; *ambitionis*, xiv 29, 1; *pavoris*, xv 66, 3; and *coniurationis*, xv 60, 3. So too '*animi validus*,' xv 53, 2 (a development of the locative; Roby, 1168).

25 [34]. Qualitative genitive, arising from the meaning 'belonging to,' 'a mark of,' as *impetus antiqui*, xiii 54, 6; *tui muneris*, xiv 55, 1; *sui muneris*, xv 52, 4; used with the same brachylogy as the ablative of quality, cf. § 18, as *semper Romanae ditionis*, xv 13, 4. To this may be referred *diurni quoque victus*, xv 38, 7.

26 [37]. The gerundive genitive.

(a) This is much used as a defining genitive, as *materiem*



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arguendae sententiae, xiii 49, 1; interficiendi domini animum, xiv 44, 1; constantiam opperiendae mortis, xiv 59, 2. Sometimes it is epexegetic of a neuter adjective, as nec grave manu missis . . . retinendi libertatem, xiii 26, 4 (supply the idea of 'opus'); Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi, xv 5, 3 (supply the idea of 'consilium'). So, perhaps, ostentandi, xv 21, 3, supplying 'ius' from the context.

(b) A remarkable use is iactandi ingenii, xiii 11, 2, an imitation of the Greek genitive of infinitive expressing purpose, like τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρει, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον λέναι αὐτῇ (Thuc. i. 4).

### III. VERBS.

27 [38, 39]. Tacitus uses more freedom than earlier classical writers in the omission of verbs of speaking, as in xiii 56, 1; xv 17, 2, and many other passages; motion, xiv 8, 4; see also teneri (sc. poterat), xiii 41, 3; and the elliptical expressions in xiv 7, 2.

Parts of 'esse,' other than present indicative and infinitive, are omitted, especially in relative or dependent clauses, as quod peditum (sc. fuit), interfecit, xiv 32, 6; qua proximum . . . Armenios petivit, xv 12, 1. The subjunctive of this verb is also freely omitted when another subjunctive follows, and in oratio obliqua, as xiii 55, 5. Note also omission of 'fuisse' after a future participle, xv 16, 1; xv 24, 3; xv 67, 1.

28 [40]. Simple verbs are often used in place of compound, a poetical use; as pressus for oppressus, xiv 5, 2; for repressus, xiv 64, 3; nosco for cognosco, xv 73, 3; haurio for exhaurio, xvi 18, 1; egerat for coegerat, xvi 34, 2. Cf. also movetur, xiv 60, 5; solatus est, xvi 13, 5.

29 [41]. Verbs usually transitive are used intransitively, as ago, xiii 24, 1, &c.; verito, xiii 37, 4, &c.; flecto, xv 61, 6; moveo, xv 46, 3.

30 [42]. The personal passives regnantur, xiii 54, 2, and dubitaretur, xiv 7, 1, are peculiar.

### IV. MOODS AND TENSES.

#### A. *Infinitive.*

31 [43]. Verbs of commanding, entreating, and advising, and those expressing effort and compulsion, which in earlier classical

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prose are usually followed by *ut* or *ne* with subjunctive, occur in great numbers in Tacitus followed by infinitive, as *orabant cavere*, xiii 13, 4 ; *mori adactus est*, xiii 25, 2 ; *perpulit suscipere*, xiii 54, 3 ; *abire subegit*, xiv 26, 1 ; see also the infinitives after *mandavit*, xv 2, 5 ; *monebat*, xv 12, 3 ; *placuit*, xv 14, 5 ; *scribitur*, xv 25, 6 ; *imperavit*, xv 28, 3 ; *hortarentur*, xv 59, 1 ; *suadenti*, xvi 9, 3.

32 [44]. The use of the accusative and infinitive is extended so as to follow *accusare*, xiv 18, 1, and *dubitare* negatived, xv 73, 3.

33 [45]. The infinitive depending on a verb in a personal construction is used in some cases where an impersonal construction would be usual in earlier classical prose, as *deferuntur consensisse*, xiii 23, 1 ; *haud creditus sufficere*, xiii 30, 3 ; *adnotatus . . . praeriguisse*, xiii 35, 6 ; *adventare audiebatur*, xv 6, 4.

34 [46]. The historic infinitive is very frequent in lively descriptions, as xiii 13, 1 and following ; xiii 37, 1, &c. ; and is even used in temporal clauses when the time at which a state of things began has already been specified by a finite verb ; thus with *cum*, xiv 5, 2 ; *donec*, xiii 57, 6.

35 [47]. The epexegetic infinitive, a Graecism common in Horace, is employed, as *factus . . . et exercitus . . . velare*, xiv 56, 5.

### B. *Indicative.*

36 [48]. The historic present is very common : it is so far treated as a past tense as to be sometimes joined with a perfect, as in xv 10, 5 ; and to have a subjunctive dependent upon it in the imperfect tense, as *ut omitteret maritum emeretur*, xiii 44, 1 ; cf. also xv 9, 2.

37 [49]. Parenthetical or explanatory clauses in the indicative are inserted in the midst of *oratio obliqua*, as with *dum*, xiii 15, 7, &c. ; *quoties*, xiv 64, 5 ; and *relative*, xv 61, 6.

38 [50]. The indicative is used rhetorically in place of subjunctive in the apodosis of conditional clauses, stating what might have happened as though it had actually occurred ; as *exstimulaverant . . . nisi impunitatis cupido retinisset*, xv 50, 7 ; or an incomplete action or tendency, showing vividly what was on the point of happening, as *ibatur in caedes, nisi . . . obviam issent*, xiii 2, 1 ; or what would have been, in contrast to what did happen,

## SYNTAX

as si . . . ponte transgrederentur, sub ictum dabantur, xiii 39, 8.  
See also xv 6, 6; xv 10, 1; xv 8, 2.

### C. *Subjunctive.*

39 [51]. The potential subjunctive is frequently employed; in the imperfect, as requireres, xiii 3, 6; crederes, xvi 4, 4: in the perfect, as nec facile memoraverim, xv 49, 1; haud promptum fuerit, xv 41, 1; neque . . . crediderim, xvi 6, 1.

40 [53]. The subjunctive is used, denoting a fact, with quamquam, xiv 36, 1; with quamvis, xv 51, 6; and with donec, even when no idea of purpose or expectation is implied, xiii 13, 1; xiv 8, 3.

41 [52]. The subjunctive of cases frequently occurring is common in Tacitus in subordinate clauses: with unde, xiii 45, 3; qua, xiv 13, 2; ubi, xv 58, 3; so too perhaps quae . . . incusaret, xiv 1, 1 (though this may also be explained as causal).

Non quantum inimici cuperent demissus, xiii 42, 1, may be referred to such limitative uses of subjunctive with relative as the phrase 'nihil quod sciam'; so also nulla caeli intemperie quae oculis occurreret, xvi 13, 1.

Notice the use of imperfect subjunctive retaining its past conditional force though following consecutive ut, in xvi 14, 5; adeo ut . . . nemo obsignaret nisi Tigellinus auctor exstitisset (for obsignaturus fuerit).

## V. PARTICIPLES.

Cf. also § 21.

42 [54]. The aoristic use of the present participle should be noticed (*a*) in ablative absolute, initium faciente Cossutiano, xvi 28, 1; (*b*) as equivalent to a relative clause with a past tense, vincentium, xiv 36, 2.

43 [54]. The future participle is used expressing Purpose, oppressura, xiii 57, 7; elusurus, xiv 41, 2, &c.

44. A participle takes the place of protasis to a conditional sentence, as nec . . . defuissent . . . agenti, xiv 55, 4; placabiliorem fore . . . rebatur nulla sollicitudine turbatum, xiv 59, 1.

45 [55]. A participial expression is preferred to the use of an abstract noun followed by a genitive; captarum pecuniarum crimina, xiii 52, 1; receptae Armeniae decus, xiv 29, 2; pudore deprehensi sceleris, xiv 7, 7; evulgatus pudor, xiv 14, 5.

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### VI. PREPOSITIONS.

Cf. also for their omission §§ 5, 8, 13, 14, 19; anastrophe, § 55. 46 [56-63]. The following are some of the most characteristic usages in Tacitus:—

*Apud* is much used with names of places and countries as well as with common names, in place of locative or in with ablative; as *apud urbem*, xiv 26, 1; *apud Aegeas*, xiii 8, 4; see also xiii 8, 1; xiv 14, 2; xvi 15, 1.

*Circa* = 'concerning' (a meaning originating with Seneca and Pliny mai.), xvi 8, 3.

In (*a*) with accusative, much used in expressing the effect intended or resulting, like *ἐπί* or *πρός*, as in *deterius*, xiii 14, 1; in *maius*, xiii 8, 1; in *mollius*, xiv 39, 4; in *subsidium*, xiii 18, 3.

(*b*) with ablative of a neuter adjective, as alternative to employing the adjective attributively, as in *integro*, xv 2, 4; in *obsuro*, xv 16, 3; in *incerto*, xv 36, 7.

*Iuxta* is used metaphorically as an adverb in the sense of 'pariter,' xiii 32, 1.

*Per* has frequently the force of a simple ablative, or ablative with *ex* or *in*: as *per noctem* = *noctu*, xiii 38, 6; *crebris criminationibus*, aliquando *per facetias*, xiv 1, 1; cf. xvi 18, 1.

*Super* is used equivalent to *de*, xiv 43, 1; xv 5, 5, &c.

The following are rare, and in no earlier prose:—

*Abusque* (Verg.), xiii 47, 2; xv 37, 5.

*Adusque* (Verg., Horace, Ovid), xiv 58, 4.

### VII. ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS.

47 [64]. Comparative sentences are often abbreviated—

(*a*) by supplying 'magis' or 'potius' before 'quam' (as in Greek *μᾶλλον* before *ἤ*); *libens quam coactus acciret dominam*, xiv 61, 6;

(*b*) by the use of a positive with 'quanto,' without the addition of *magis*; *quanto inopina tanto maiora* i 68, 5.

(*c*) by omission of *tanto* in *apodosis*; i 74, 7; xiii 13, 1.

(*d*) Note also such 'compendious' expressions of comparison as *clara et antiquis victoriis par . . . laus parta*, xiv 37, 5; *artibus tuis pares* xiv 55, 6.

48 [65]. The omission of conjunctions (*asyndeton*) is frequent, owing to Tacitus' rhetorical tendencies; in lively narration, xiv 61, 1;

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in enumerations, often leading up to a climax, *villas arva vicos*, xiii 57, 5; *ratione consilio praeceptis*, xiv 55, 4; *senatores eques miles feminae etiam*, xv 48, 1; and in antitheses, *plana edita* xv 27, 4.

49 [66]. Adverbs are used as adjectives, attributively, as in Greek, *honestis an secus amicis*, xiii 6, 6; [*cuncta extra*, xiii 41, 4]; *nulla palam causa*, xiv 32, 1; *cuncta circum*, xv 39, 1; cf. *circum*, xvi 3, 2; predicatively as *dicta inpune erant*, i 72, 3; *id . . . inpune . . . vertit*, xiii 32, 5.

50 [67]. *Tamquam*, *quasi*, and (less frequently) *velut* are used—

(a) of something falsely pretended or alleged as reason for the action described, *quasi subsidium . . . oraret . . . genibus principis accidens*, xv 53, 2; *ficta valetudine quasi aeger nervis*, xv 45, 5; *tamquam Naxum deveheretur Ostiam amotus*, xvi 9, 2:

(b) but often the reason alleged may be taken as the real one, or at any rate believed in by the person alleging it; *intercessit . . . tamquam satis expleta ultione*, xiii 43, 7; so xiv 41, 1; xv 59, 7; *Neapolim quasi Graecam urbem delegit*, xv 33, 2; *gestabat velut . . . sacrum*, xv 53, 3:

(c) and in some passages these particles simply introduce a reported speech or thought; *vulgi opinio est tamquam mutationem regis portendat*, xiv 22, 1; so after ‘*nuntios*,’ xiv 59, 2; after ‘*rumore*,’ xv 73, 2; *vulgato . . . quasi*, xiv 8, 1; *conscientia quasi*, xiv 10, 5.

Note also xiv 52, 2, where ‘*tamquam*’ and ‘*quasi*’ are co-ordinated with and used as variants for ‘*quod*.’

Other references are, for ‘*tamquam*,’ xiii 28, 5; xiii 33, 4; xiv 33, 6: for ‘*quasi*,’ xiii 18, 3; xiii 38, 6; xiv 65, 1; xv 50, 4; and for ‘*velut*,’ xvi 2, 1.

## B. STYLE

### I. INNOVATIONS IN VOCABULARY.

51 [69, 70]. Tacitus constantly prefers unusual forms, as *claritudo*, *firmitudo*, to the forms in -as; *cognomentum* to the form in -men; *medicamen*, *tegumen*, to the forms in -mentum; besides introducing words not previously found, or found only in poets.

The following are some of the most noticeable:

(a) New verbal substantives, expressing (1) Agent, concertator, xiv 29, 2; patrator, xiv 62, 3; profligator, xvi 18, 1: (2) Action,

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aemulatus, xiii 46, 5; escensus, xiii 39, 6; relatus (perhaps), xv 22, 1; subvectus, xv 4, 4.

(b) new negative adjective; inturbidus, xiv 22, 5.

(c) new intensive forms; perornare, xvi 26, 3; persimplex, xv 45, 6; perseverus, xv 48, 5; praerigescere, xiii 35, 6; praeumbrare, xiv 47, 1; praecalidus, xiii 16, 3.

(d) frequentative forms are preferred to simple; mansito, xiv 42, 2; occulto, xiv 44, 2; factito, xiv 48, 1.

Other new words are deprecabundus, xv 53, 2; infensare, xiii 37, 1; professorius, xiii 14, 5; properato, xiii 1, 4; sesquiplaga, xv 67, 8: used in new sense, amovere=banish, xiv 57, 1; introduced from poets, adolere=kindle, xiv 30, 3; ambedere, xv 5, 4; breve=shallow water (from 'brevia,' Verg.), xiv 29, 3; indefessus, xvi 22, 1; livere, xiii 42, 4; mersare, xv 69, 3; notescere, xiv 16, 1; reclinis, xiii 16, 5; transmovere, xiii 35, 2. So too ignarus, xv 62, 3, and nescius, xvi 14, 3, are used, as in poets, with passive meaning: the passive use of 'gnarus,' as in xv 61, 3, is almost peculiar to Tacitus.

Besides these words, many of the syntactical usages already mentioned are innovations of Tacitus.

## II. RHETORICAL AND POETICAL COLOURING.

To this head belong many syntactical usages already mentioned.

52 [74]. Among the most noticeable metaphorical expressions in these books are the following; (a) verbs, vergente iam die, xiii 38, 7; exueret magistrum, xiv 52, 6; in mucronem ardescere, xv 54, 1; libertas Thrascae servitium aliorum rupit, xiv 49, 1; corrumpere=nullify, xv 71, 4; volvere=ponder, xiv 53, 5; provolvere=degrade, xiv 2, 4; haurire=destroy, waste, xiii 42, 7; xvi 18, 1; nos prima imperii spatia ingredimur, xiv 56, 1: (b) substantives, moles, xiv 65, 2; xv 2, 5; locorum facies, xiv 10, 5: (c) adjectives, lubricus, xiii 2, 2; turbidus, xiv 59, 5: (d) adverb, colles clementer adsurgentes, xiii 38, 5.

53 [75]. Personification is employed to render expressions forcible: nox eadem necem Britannici et rogam coniunxit, xiii 17, 1; so dies, xiv 41, 1; annus, xiii 33, 1: cf. also venia, xiii 35, 9; concordia, xiii 48, 3; licentia, xiv 50, 2; memoria, xiv 40, 5; misercordia, xiv 45, 4.

54 [76]. Hendiadys, the co-ordination of two words of which the

## STYLE

one defines the other like an adjective or genitive, is used by Tacitus more frequently than by earlier prose authors: *testamenta et orbos*, xiii 42, 7 (cf. *opibus et orbitate*, xiii 19, 2); *ingenium atque audacia*, xv 42, 1; *Stoicorum adrogantia sectaque*, xiv 57, 5; *cubiculum ac sinum*, xiii 13, 2.

55 [77]. Anastrophe (*a*) of prepositions is frequent in the case of *ab*, *ad*, *apud*, *ex*, *in* and *inter*, but not found with *circa*, *praeter*, *prope*, *sine*, *supra*, and *pro*: note also *abusque*, xiii 47, 2; *coram*, xv 24, 3; *extra*, xiii 47, 2; *super*, xvi 35, 2: following a genitive, *cubiculum Caesaris iuxta*, xiii 15, 8; so *propter*, xiv 9, 3: between two substantives in apposition, *Ferentino in oppido*, xv 53, 3.

(*b*) of conjunctions; *si* occurring fifth word, xiv 3, 3; *quasi* seventh, xiv 52, 1; see also *quamquam*, xiv 21, 7; *ut*, xv 14, 1; *donec*, xiii 33, 1.

56. Anaphora: *qui*, xiii 21, 7; *quantum*, xiii 28, 4; *non*, xiii 35, 3; *sine*, xiii 35, 3; &c.

57. The following expressions may also be noticed here:—

(*a*) instead of using a concrete substantive qualified by adjective or partic., Tacitus often employs an abstract substantive coupled with a concrete in the 'defining' genitive: *obiectus molium*, for *moles obiectas*, xiv 8, 2; *contrario sagittarum iactu*, xv 9, 1 (= *sagittis ex adverso iactis*); *communione parietum*, xv 43, 4.

(*b*) an adjective is sometimes used in agreement with a substantive to which it does not appear properly to belong, ('Hypallage'): *novus nuntius contumeliae*, xv 1, 2; *diros sacrorum ritus*, xvi 8, 2. The idiom is common in Greek tragedy (e. g. *véikos áνδρῶν ξύναιμον*, Soph. *Ant.* 793), and arises from regarding the substantive with its qualifying genitive as a single notion.

### III. INFLUENCE OF THE STUDY OF BREVITY.

58 [80]. Ellipses. Many such have been already noted, as the omission of verbs, § 27, of prepositions, §§ 5, 8, 13, 14, 19, and other particles, § 48, as well as many usages adopted for conciseness of expression.

Note also the passage *nec amplius quam* &c., xiii 40, 6; *qui . . . cremabantur*, xvi 13, 2; *aspexeritne* &c., xiv 9, 1.

59 [82]. Parenthetical remarks are sometimes expressed concisely by one or more words apparently in apposition in the nominative

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and equivalent to a relative clause ; see *rarum*, xiii 2, 1 ; *incertum*, xiv 7, 2. This is to be distinguished from the use noted in § 6, *a*.

60 [83]. Zeugma is frequent ; cf. *ostendere*, xiii 35, 7 ; *sumpsere*, xiv 17, 2 ; *exercendo*, xiv 20, 5 ; *accenderant*, xv 4, 4 ; *ardesceret*, xvi 29, 1.

61 [84]. Pregnant constructions are adopted for conciseness : *comitia . . . composuit*, xiv 28, 1 ; cf. *menses*, xvi 12, 3 ; *dies contemptus*, xv 57, 2.

### IV. INFLUENCE OF THE STUDY OF VARIETY.

62 [85]. To this may be ascribed variations in the form of Eastern names, as *Artaxata*, varying between 1st and 3rd declensions, ii 56, 3 ; xiii 41, 4 ; so also *Tigranocerta*, xiv 24, 6 ; xv 4, 2 ; xiv 23, 1 ; xv 6, 2 : and *Vologeses*, varying between 2nd and 3rd, xiii 37, 1 ; xiii 7, 2. So too Tacitus uses both *alioqui* and *alioquin* ; *balneae* and *balneum* ; *dein* and *deinde* ; *grates* and *gratias agere* ; *inermis* and *inermus* ; *senecta* and *senectus*, &c.

63 [86]. Names often mentioned are varied ; cf. *Paetus Thrasea*, xiii 49, 1, but *Thrasea Paetus*, xiv 12, 2 ; and in many other places simply *Thrasea*, as xvi 21, &c. : or the cognomen alone is used, when the name has been given more fully above.

64 [87-91]. Changes in the form of the expression are often introduced in corresponding clauses, simply for the sake of variety ; some of the commonest are—

(*a*) From one preposition to another of similar meaning ; *adversus . . . contra*, xiii 35, 1 ; in . . . *apud*, xiv 14, 2.

(*b*) from a simple case to a case with a preposition ; *adversa pravitati ipsius*, *prospera ad fortunam referebat*, xiv 38, 5.

(*c*) from *asyndeta* to conjunctions, or from one conjunction to another.

(Often however such changes mark different grades of connexion.)

(*d*) change of case or of number, *pedes equites*, xiv 29, 4 ; *senatores eques miles feminae*, xv 48, 1.

(*e*) change of Voice : *prorupisse rursum Parthos et rapi Armeniam*, xiii 6, 1 ; *trepidatur . . . diffugiunt*, xiii 16, 4 ; cf. also xiv 24, 7.

(*f*) from ablative to participle, *pars mora*, *pars festinans*, xv 38, 5 ; cf. *inpunitate . . . occultus*, xiii 25, 4 ; *familiaritate . . . adductus*, xiv 4, 8 ; *cupidine . . . metuenti*, xv 36, 6 ; *revolutus . . . imitatione*, xvi 18, 4.



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(*g*) from participle to final or causal clause; *sive . . . suspectans . . . sive ut . . .*, xiii 39, 1; *sive . . . incautus . . . sive ut . . .*, xiii 46, 1; cf. also xv 69, 2; or from a noun to such a clause, *fato quodam an quia praevalent inlicita*, xiii 12, 2; *supplicationes . . . utque*, xiii 8, 1; *statuae . . . utque*, xiii 41, 5.

(*h*) from gerundial ablative to participle, *trahens . . . interpretando*, xiii 47, 1; *adsurgens . . . populando*, xv 38, 4.

65 [93]. Tacitus further takes evident pains to vary the expression of facts that have to be stated often; the great number of different phrases used by him for such events as death, suicide, banishment will be readily noticed on reading the text.

### V. INFLUENCE OF IMITATION.

66 [95]. The Graecisms in Tacitus are chiefly such as had already become naturalized in Latin, and most have been noticed in previous paragraphs. To these may be added *ut quisque audentiae habuisset*, xv 53, 3; *ut coniectare erat*, xvi 34, 2.

67 [96]. Archaic words revived by Tacitus are *mercimonium*, xv 38, 2 (Plautus), and *perduellis*, xiv 29, 2 (Ennius, Plautus, &c.).

68 [97]. The debt of Tacitus to his chief predecessors in historical writing and to the great classical poets may here be illustrated by a few instances: others can be gathered from previous sections, cf. § 51 (*d*); and many others are pointed out in the notes on the text.

#### (1) Sallust:

*Annals*

*Cat.* 25, 5 *ingenium eius haut absurdum* . . . xiii 45, 2

*Jug.* 4, 2 *memet studium meum laudando extollere* . . . xiv 43, 1

*Cat.* 2, 3 *aequabilius atque constantius* . . . xv 21, 5

*Fr. H.* 2, 30 *advorsa in pravitatem declinando* . . . xv 26, 3

*Fr. H.* 4, 31 *volentia plebi facturus* . . . xv 36, 6

*Jug.* 5, 3 *pauca supra repetam* . . . xvi 18, 1

#### (2) Livy:

vii 37, 14 *velut indagine* . . . xiii 42, 7

vii 17, 3 *sacerdotes eorum and foll.* . . . xiv 30, 1

#### (3) Vergil:

*Aen.* ii 374 *rapiunt (= diripiunt)* . . . xiii 6, 1

„ x 532 *belli commercia* . . . xiv 33, 6

„ iii 55 *fas omne abrupit* . . . xv 2, 2

# INTRODUCTION

## III

### HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THESE BOOKS

§ 1. In the constitution solemnly inaugurated by his acceptance of the title of 'Augustus' at the beginning of B.C. 27, Octavian was content to be designated not as 'king' or 'dictator,' but only as 'prince.' If this term is, as has been commonly supposed, shortened from 'princeps senatus,' it implied only that (as was no doubt the fact) his name stood first on the roll of senators, and would convey no idea of his relation to the state. The fact, however, that he is always spoken of not as 'princeps senatus' but as simply 'princeps' seems, together with many other considerations, to point to the conclusion that the term, if an abbreviation of any kind, is rather that of some such an expression as 'princeps civitatis,' and was intended to designate his general position as first citizen of the Republic, which he claimed to have in other respects restored in its entirety.

Thus understood, the title conveys no monarchical idea, and does not even imply magistracy; though certain powers always held with it made the princeps first magistrate of the state.

§ 2. Of these, the first and most important was the 'imperium proconsulare,' whereby, in contrast to those holding a more limited 'imperium,' he was distinctively the sole 'imperator<sup>1</sup>,' or 'emperor,' of the Roman empire, and commander-in-chief of all its fleets and armies. Not only the 'legati' of his own special provinces, but also the proconsuls of those left to the senate, ranked as his subordinates; and all military operations were held by a fiction to be conducted under his 'auspicia<sup>2</sup>'; while, by a further extension, this power was valid also in Italy and even within the walls of Rome, giving him not only the supreme command of the home army and police, but also power of life and death over all citizens, even of senatorial rank, and a special juris-

<sup>1</sup> The use of this title, as commemorative of victories (see on xiii 41, 5), is distinct from its use to denote supreme command.

<sup>2</sup> xiii 6, 5; xv 26, 3.

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diction, whereby he could either try in person criminal and civil charges of every description, or remit them, as he thought fit, to other tribunals.

§ 3. Hardly less important was the 'tribunitia potestas.' In the later time of the Republic, the office of tribune had been generally the most powerful urban magistracy, as that of proconsul had been the chief title of military command; and the princeps was as much above ordinary tribunes as above ordinary proconsuls. He held office for life, was hampered by the veto of no colleague<sup>1</sup>, and was known to be able, if need be, to support any coercive action by military force. From this office he derived personal inviolability; it was through it that he could summon the senate and propose questions to it, as well as intervene to forbid or modify any decree displeasing to him. Also, in this capacity, he seems to have so far represented the people, that the old civic right of 'provocatio ad populum' from the sentence of the magistrate passes into an appeal to Caesar, and the whole prerogative of pardon is thus vested in him<sup>2</sup>.

§ 4. By a third power, that of the 'regimen legum et morum,' he retained to himself the most important powers belonging to the ancient censorship<sup>3</sup>, such as the revision of the lists of senators and knights, and the expulsion of unworthy members of those bodies.

§ 5. Another office, regularly held by the princeps from and after B. C. 12, was that of 'pontifex maximus,' whereby he became the supreme authority in many of the chief religious questions belonging to the state.

§ 6. It will be seen that the form of the Roman Republic was preserved; that the Caesars professedly derived their power from their tenure of republican magistracies or modifications of such, and were supreme by a combination of such offices, and by such extension of their functions as would not seem inconsistent with

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion of a tribune, to veto a decision of the senate known to be in accordance with Nero's wishes, was scouted as futile, xvi 26, 6.

<sup>2</sup> xiii 43, 7; xiv 48, 3.

<sup>3</sup> The censorship itself was allowed to drop after B. C. 22, and was very rarely revived by subsequent emperors.

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their original idea. Not unfrequently the princeps also filled one of the consulships<sup>1</sup>, rather as a recognition of the dignity of the office than as deriving any additional power from it. Otherwise, the annual magistracies existed on their ancient footing, and discharged their usual duties of routine; the most important being those of the consuls, as the regular presidents of the senate, and of the praetors, as presiding over and regulating the 'iudicia publica.' Side by side with them were important new officers directly appointed by the princeps; of whom the 'praefectus praetorio' and 'praefectus vigilum' were his military and police vicegerents in Rome, while the 'praefectus urbi' and 'praefectus annonae' must have encroached on some functions of the republican magistrates<sup>2</sup>.

§ 7. Passing from the magistrates to the senate and the comitia, we find that one of the first acts of Tiberius was practically to annihilate the latter body, by transferring the election of magistrates to the senate<sup>3</sup>. The people may probably have felt that the substance of power had long since departed from them, and that only the shadow had now followed it: at any rate, the change took place without serious opposition, and the populace were left with nothing henceforth to care for but their bread and their amusements<sup>4</sup>.

§ 8. With the senate it was outwardly far otherwise. In place of the 'senatus populusque Romanus,' in whose name the acts of Rome used to run, this august body alone remained, with apparently still more than its ancient majesty. 'Affairs that concerned the state, and the most important affairs which concerned individuals<sup>5</sup>,' were still handled by it with apparent freedom; its decrees come to differ only in form from laws; in choosing magistrates, who by virtue of such magistracy become senators<sup>6</sup>, it is formally a self-elective body; in form even the right of choosing the princeps himself devolves upon it<sup>7</sup>; the whole narrative of

<sup>1</sup> xiii 11; xiii 31; xiii 34.

<sup>2</sup> An attempt to bring a criminal before a praetor rather than the praefectus urbi is noticed in xiv 41, 2.

<sup>3</sup> xiv 28.

<sup>4</sup> 'Panem et circenses,' Juv. 10, 81.

<sup>5</sup> iv 6, 2.

<sup>6</sup> As a rule, the senate was entered through the quaestorship.

<sup>7</sup> Thus after the death of Claudius the senate confirmed the soldiers' choice of Nero, xii 69, 3.

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Tacitus is full of its debates and decisions. As of old, it awards triumphal honours and other recognition of victories<sup>1</sup>, and sends its thanks or rewards to allied kings as representative of the state; it decrees public funerals<sup>2</sup> and other honours to the dead<sup>3</sup>; it makes regulations to repress disorder<sup>4</sup>, and curb extravagance<sup>5</sup> and immorality, and to deal stringently with the abuses of religious or superstitious practices; while, abroad, all important questions appertaining to the administration of its own provinces are referred to it. Besides all this, the senate has supplanted the praetor's tribunal as the great high court of criminal justice, before which culprits of rank are almost always arraigned, especially on the constantly recurring charge of 'maiestas'<sup>6</sup>.

§ 9. Those, however, who could look below the surface knew well that, not the senate, but the emperor through the senate, governed; and that it acted rather as representative of him than of the state. Every magistrate was really so far his nominee that only such candidates as had his recommendation, or at least his approval<sup>7</sup>, could be chosen; and as the entry to the senate itself was through magistracy<sup>8</sup> or by the direct nomination of the princeps<sup>9</sup>, every senator must have felt that he owed his position to the emperor; who, besides the powers formally conferred on him, had all the advantage arising from the general recognition that, whoever was master of the legions, was master of as much else as he thought fit to claim.

§ 10. If we look to the practical working of the imperial administration, the chief difference felt by the inhabitants of Rome must have consisted in the greater maintenance of order. Seven thousand 'vigiles' were distributed over the city; a more distinctly

<sup>1</sup> xiii 8; xiii 41; xv 18, 1.      <sup>2</sup> xiii 2, 6.      <sup>3</sup> xv 23, 4.      <sup>4</sup> xiv 17, 4.

<sup>5</sup> xiii 5, 1.

<sup>6</sup> xiii 42, 43; xvi 22, 9.

<sup>7</sup> The princeps 'commended' two out of the twenty quaestors annually elected, four out of the twelve praetors, and 'nominated' the consuls. The consulship was rarely held for a full year: the two consuls who gave their name to the year retired after a few months, and were succeeded by 'consules suffecti.' Two months eventually became the ordinary length of tenure of this office, so that there were twelve consuls per annum.

<sup>8</sup> i. e. by the quaestorship (see above, § 8).

<sup>9</sup> Some senators are styled 'adlecti a principe.'

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military police force of three urban cohorts, each a thousand strong, enforced the summary jurisdiction of the city praefect; and nine praetorian cohorts of similar strength were at hand, if needed. This security must have been in itself no small boon to trade and industry; and even the poorest class must have found their gain in the more systematic regulation of the corn supply.

§ 11. In the empire outside, the most important change to notice is the division of provinces made in B.C. 27 between Augustus and the senate, whereby only the more peaceful were retained by the latter; those lately acquired, or otherwise needing the presence of military force, being taken over by the emperor.

§ 12. Of the senatorial provinces, the two chief were Asia and Africa. The former, comprising a large triangular tract with its base on the western coast of Asia Minor, included generally Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and nearly all Phrygia, with most of the islands in the Aegean, and had its metropolis and seat of government at Ephesus. The latter would coincide in modern geography with the western part of Tripoli, the whole of Tunis, and a considerable portion of Algeria, its chief cities being Utica and the new Julian colony of Carthage.

§ 13. For the proconsulship of these two great provinces lots were drawn annually by the two senior consulars who had not previously held either. The other senatorial provinces, eight or nine in number<sup>1</sup>, were similarly allotted to annual governors, also styled proconsuls, though usually only of praetorian rank. Their duties, as a rule, were civil only, nor are any soldiers, except a few by way of police, to be found generally in these provinces<sup>2</sup>. Besides the assistance of one or more legati of high senatorial rank, each proconsul was attended by a quaestor, who received all sums due to the aerarium.

§ 14. The Caesarian provinces, whose revenues formed the main support of the fiscus, comprised all those fronting the enemies

<sup>1</sup> Those usually so reckoned were Sicily, Sardinia (with Corsica), Hispania Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis, Macedonia, Achaia, Bithynia, Cyprus, and Crete (with Cyrene); but some of these were at times given over to Caesar.

<sup>2</sup> Africa formed an exception to this rule, having a regular force of one legion.

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of the empire, and many other important countries. Their governors, appointed directly by the princeps, held office during his pleasure, usually for from three to five years, but often for much longer periods<sup>1</sup>, and, like proconsuls of senatorial provinces, had the assistance of 'legati,' as also of a 'procurator fisci,' whose duties answered to those of the quaestor. Holding often the command of large armies, and having much fuller power of life and death<sup>2</sup>, these governors were in a far higher real position than that of a senatorial proconsul; although, in recognition of the sole 'proconsulare imperium' of the emperor, none had a higher title than that of 'legatus Augusti propraetore.'

§ 15. To the greatest provinces, in which large forces were stationed, legati of consular rank were always sent<sup>3</sup>. Foremost among these are Upper and Lower Germany and Syria, each with its garrison of four legions, those of the German armies fully organized and trained by war against the unsubdued tribes beyond the Rhine, and those of Syria charged with maintaining the prestige of Rome against Parthia.

§ 16. Another class, corresponding to the second class of senatorial provinces, comprised those in which only a single legion, or even a smaller force, was stationed. In these the legatus was usually only of praetorian rank, but had otherwise the same status as in the greater provinces. As an example of such may be taken the three divisions of Gaul, Gallia Belgica, Lugdunensis, and Aquitania, for all of which insignificant forces seem ordinarily to have sufficed, with the German legions in reserve in case of a rising.

§ 17. In a third class of provinces of still less importance, the procurator, of only equestrian rank, instead of being placed under a legatus, is himself the acting governor, perhaps usually in some subordination to the legatus of a neighbouring province. One well-known instance of such a government in the time of Tiberius, that

<sup>1</sup> See note on Poppaeus Sabinus, xiii 45, 1; and note the length of Corbulo's appointment in the East.

<sup>2</sup> Senatorial proconsuls could not (except in Africa) execute a soldier; and any citizen, under a capital charge, could appeal from any governor to Caesar. A well-known instance is that of St. Paul (Acts xxv. 11).

<sup>3</sup> Besides those here mentioned, Hispania Tarraconensis, Moesia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, belonged to this class.

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of Pontius Pilatus in Judaea, shows that an officer even of this rank might have command of at least a cohort<sup>1</sup>.

§ 18. Egypt, as the great granary of Rome, had an exceptional position, and, though held by a considerable force, was entrusted to no legatus, but jealously retained by the princeps under his own control, with a vicegerent of equestrian rank styled 'praefectus.'

§ 19. All governors of provinces had fixed salaries from the treasury; and cruelty and extortion, though by no means things of the past, enjoyed far less impunity than such as collusive accusers, or judges interested in connivance, had often secured for the culprit in former times. From this cause, probably also from the more equitable assessment of tribute through a systematic census, the provinces are admitted to have been gainers by the fall of the Republic, and there is evidence that those placed under the emperor were more economically governed than the senatorial.

§ 20. Several states and kingdoms not formally reduced to provinces, but left semi-independent under native rulers, helped to strengthen the empire against hostile nations<sup>2</sup>.

§ 21. The great military force of the empire was massed along its north-eastern frontier, formed, roughly speaking, by the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. The eight legions of Germany and the four of Syria have been already mentioned; the line of the Danube was secured by five in Moesia and Pannonia, supported by two more in Dalmatia; to these are to be added two in Egypt, one in Africa, and three in Spain, making up the whole standing force of twenty-five legions. Italy had no other garrison than the praetorian and urban cohorts (whose head quarters were in Rome), and the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna.

§ 22. The legion, commanded by a legatus of senatorial, often even of praetorian rank, consisted of ten cohorts, each subdivided into three maniples, each of which contained two centuries. All its soldiers, though recruited freely from all parts of the empire, were Roman citizens; but a large auxiliary or non-citizen force was always attached to it, supplementing it chiefly with light troops and cavalry: the whole corps being thus made up to a strength of about 10,000 of all arms and descriptions. The main armies may

St. Matt. xxvii 27, &c.

<sup>2</sup> xiii 7; xiv 26, 3.



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thus be rated in the aggregate at about 250,000 men; to which perhaps 100,000 may be added for the troops of Italy, the marines of the fleets, and the detached bodies stationed in peaceful provinces.

§ 23. This organization as a whole dates from Augustus, and was maintained by Tiberius as he found it, without other change of importance than the transference of the election of magistrates to the senate, and the concentration of the praetorian guard in Rome.

### *On alterations under Claudius and Nero.*

§ 24. Under Claudius more and more of the work of the State passed out of the hands of the senate and its magistrates; and knights or freedmen, as ministers of the emperor, responsible to him alone, were appointed over new departments of administration at home and abroad. Nero professed to restore to the senate and law-courts functions that had been usurped by his predecessor's creatures (xiii 4, 3). But this restoration, even if sincerely intended at the outset, was out of harmony with the natural trend of events: the old-fashioned, cumbrous machinery of the senate made it a hindrance rather than a help in the work of government. Again, from its quasi-independent status, the senate was, in the emperor's eyes, a perpetual source of possible rebellion. And so in the course of his reign Nero's original attitude of professed respect for the senate changed to one of fear and suspicion. He exterminated its noblest and most eminent members, and it is recorded that he even threatened at one time to abolish the whole order and govern solely through knights and freedmen (Suet. *Ner.* 37).

§ 25. As the breach between the emperor and the aristocracy continually widened, he was brought into closer relation with the populace. The transference of the cost of the corn dole from the aerarium to the fiscus, whether actually the work of Claudius or Nero, seems to have borne its chief fruit under the latter. The mass, who now thus, in the most direct way, looked to the princeps for their food, dispensed in his name and by his officers, and supplemented by gifts of various kinds and by constant and gratuitous amusements, formed a vast and increasing 'clientela Caesaris,' in comparison with which the adherents of the shattered and impoverished aristocratic houses could have been no more than a handful.

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## IV

### LIFE OF NERO

§ 1. He was born in December, 37 A.D. About two years later his father, Cn. Domitius, died, and his mother Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, the favourite hero of both army and people, was banished on the discovery of Lentulus Gaetulicus' plot against Gaius. She was however recalled by Claudius shortly after his accession, January 41, A.D., her son having meanwhile been under the charge of his aunt Domitia Lepida. In his early childhood he was exposed to the jealous dislike of Messalina, but, owing doubtless to his descent from Germanicus, he was a favourite of the people, and in 47 A.D., at his appearance in the 'ludus Troiae' in the 'ludi saeculares' together with Messalina's son Britannicus, he obtained a noticeable preponderance of applause.

§ 2. On Messalina's overthrow, 48 A.D., Agrippina became wife of Claudius, and did not rest till she had secured her own son's preference over the head of Britannicus. In 49 A.D., he was betrothed to Octavia, daughter of Claudius, and in the next year was adopted by the emperor, a step recommended as likely to strengthen Britannicus' position! He now laid aside the name of L. Domitius and took that of Ti. Claudius Nero Caesar, or, more fully, Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus, and was soon enabled to supplant the 'brother' whom he was supposed to support. Being three years older than Britannicus, he now took precedence as Claudius' eldest son; in 51 A.D. he assumed the toga virilis before the rightful age, received the title of princeps iuventutis, held proconsulare imperium except within the city, and was designated to hold the consulship in his twentieth year. These honours, and his appearance in the circus in the state dress of a Roman magistrate where Britannicus was simultaneously seen in mere boy's 'praetexta' sufficiently indicated which of the two was designed to be Claudius' successor. The powerful freedman Narcissus attempted to secure a reaction against Agrippina's influence and to ensure the succession for Britannicus, but Agrippina removed the emperor by poison lest his vacillation might undo her schemes; the praetorians were commanded by her nominee Burrus,

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and they and the legions had large rewards to expect for supporting her; a single sitting of the senate confirmed Nero in all the imperial powers and privileges, and he accordingly entered on his rule in October, 54 A.D., being now two months short of his seventeenth year.

§ 3. In the first five years of his reign, covered by Book xiii, the faults of Nero's character were not fatal to good government. The better influences around him were sufficiently strong to secure outwardly a period of improved administration, and this 'quinquennium Neronis' was subsequently eulogized by Trajan as the best period of government since the foundation of the principate. It was his avowed aim to avoid the abuses of the late reign, in which public policy and the administration of justice had become matters of palace intrigue (xiii 4). The senate was encouraged to resume its executive functions, and passed numerous measures, some even in subversion of what Agrippina championed as 'acta Claudii' (chs. 5, 26, 28, 32); as chief criminal court, it dealt with corrupt practices under the late reign (chs. 42, 43), as well as with provincial misgovernment, of which twelve cases were tried between the years 54 and 61 A.D., a large number for a period of that length. Foreign policy was vigorously conducted: the crisis in the East was met by the judicious appointment of Corbulo; in Germany, encroachments previously overlooked were checked by a new legatus (ch. 54); provincial governors were deprived of one of their methods of evading the legal consequences of maladministration (ch. 31, 5). As regards the princeps' own share in government, Pallas, Claudius' favourite, was dismissed from the control of the emperor's privy purse, and apart from direct bids for popularity, such as the largesses given at the beginning of his reign, the withdrawal of the guard from the theatre (ch. 24), and the erection of a new amphitheatre in Rome (ch. 31), we may trace a genuine desire for the benefit of his subjects in his regulations against the extortions of the publicani (ch. 51), in his chimerical scheme to abolish the vectigalia throughout the empire and derive the state revenues solely from the tributa from which citizens were exempt (ch. 50), and in his assignment of lands to veterans to recruit the dwindling population of Italian towns (xiv 27). But the responsibilities of government did not have the effect of drawing out the better qualities of Nero's

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character, as was often the case with Romans even of profligate life (cf. the case of Otho, ch. 46, and Petronius, xvi 18). His vicious tendencies were merely disguised, or for the present repressed, and even at this time his brutal rioting at night and in the theatre (ch. 25), his murder of Britannicus (chs. 15-17), his expulsion of Sulla (ch. 47), and his adultery with Poppaea (ch. 46), were ominous signs of what he was to become.

§ 4. In the next Book (xiv), his wickedness reaches its culmination. The earlier chapters are occupied with his murder of his mother, a crime prompted by personal fear and dislike. While she lived, he dared not divorce Octavia, or gratify his vanity by publicly exhibiting his accomplishments as musician and charioteer. That there was any danger that Agrippina might head a movement for his overthrow is unlikely; though she could still count on the devotion of the army (ch. 7, 5), her previous assertion (xiii 21, 8) that she had more to lose than gain by the deposition of her son still represented her position; and in the document sent to the senate to justify the murder, the charge of attempted assassination brought against her was so manifestly untenable that main emphasis was thrown upon the additional enumeration of charges relating to her previous life (*crimina longius repetita*, ch. 11), to prove that her existence in the state was undesirable on general grounds. Nothing however is so characteristic in Nero as his cowardice in the face of public opinion. Though he had obtained the servile acquiescence of all classes (*publici servitii victor*, ch. 13, 3) in the murder, he feared to be too precipitate in carrying out the designs which his mother's removal made easier to him. In exhibiting himself as a public performer, an act deemed horribly degrading to a Roman noble, and superlatively so to the princeps, he proceeded tentatively, appearing first in his private grounds, and only gradually making the performances public. Nor did he venture on his next domestic crime, the divorce and murder of Octavia, till Burrus had been succeeded in the command of the praetorians by Tigellinus, and till he had found the execution of his possible rivals Sulla and Plautus (chs. 57-59) hailed with all the marks of approval by senate and people.

§ 5. In Book xv the tyrant is seen at the height of his power, with Tigellinus and Poppaea as his secret and most influential advisers.

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His depraved lusts have full play and Rome becomes a scene of gross licentiousness. He exhibits himself on the public stage at Naples and meditates a tour of artistic triumph among the cities of Greece. But his power was declining, as the conspiracy recounted in the latter part of the book shows. With the army, his credit had been impaired by a reverse in Britain (xiv 32, 33), followed by a disgraceful surrender in Armenia (xv 14, 15), and many soldiers were imbued with the characteristically Roman view that bracketed Nero's performances in theatre and arena with his worst crimes (xv 65, 2; 67, 3). The affection of the people, already shaken by the insistence on the harsh sentence against the household of Pedanius Secundus (xiv 42, 45) and by the disregard of popular sympathy with Octavia, was further weakened by a widespread rumour that he was accountable for the great fire (xv 44, 2); and his fiendish cruelty to the Christians, on whom he fastened the blame, ended by moving compassion for the victims. The upper classes saw that high birth, uprightness, popularity, and in fact eminence of any kind, were dangerous: Burrus, it was believed, had been poisoned; Seneca had sought safety in retirement; the use of the statute dealing with 'maiestas' had been revived and might soon be turned against fresh victims; Thræsea had received direct notice of the emperor's disfavour (xv 23, 5). Under these conditions there was ample prospect that a change of ruler would be generally welcomed, and when the better of the two prefects of the praetorians, Faenius Rufus, joined the conspiracy, it seemed to have every chance of success. But both Piso, who was to take Nero's place, and Faenius Rufus alike behaved with fatal pusillanimity at the critical moment when information of the plot had reached Nero; they dropped their plans without striking a blow; and Nero was able to follow up his detection of the plot with a very reign of terror, striking down not only those whose complicity could be proved or suspected, but others whom he feared or disliked on other grounds. Thus fell C. Cassius and L. Silanus, and the other victims enumerated in Book xvi, of whom the most prominent are Thræsea and Soranus. Against the former there is no direct charge of conspiracy, but his abstention from public life, an attitude adopted shortly after the emperor's renunciation of his friendship, formed the basis of the charge against him (xvi 22);

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and the way in which his friends were dragged into the same prosecution on the flimsiest grounds shows that he was held to be dangerous to the principate, as being the head of a coterie professing Stoicism and holding a republican ideal of government, as antagonistic in fact to Nero as Cato had been to Julius Caesar. There is perhaps the same motive to repress Stoicism to be found in the attack on Soranus, Rubellius Plautus' friend and fellow Stoic, as the nominal charges against him deal with matters long past, and are evidently mere pretexts for his destruction (xvi 23).

§ 6. At this point the narrative of the *Annals* breaks off, and our knowledge of the last two years of Nero's life<sup>1</sup> is derived from other sources. To his previous crimes he added the murder of his sister Antonia and his stepson Rufius Crispinus; his jealous fear of the commanders of the legions caused him to execute Corbulo, as well as the brothers Scribonius Rufus and Proculus, the legati of the two German provinces; and he filled his purse by executing and seizing the property of many wealthy Greeks and the six rich possessors of half the province of Africa. And that 'delation' and execution went on busily in Rome during this period is indicated by the numerous references in the *Histories* to informers under Nero, whose careers seem hardly to have begun when the *Annals* break off.

§ 7. For our knowledge of Nero's overthrow it is much to be regretted that we have not an account from Tacitus, to throw light on the real aims of Vindex and his relations with Galba and Verginius, and to show how it was that the armies of three such dissimilar provinces as Gaul, Germany, and Spain combined for Nero's deposition. Doubtless the leaders of the movement saw, from the execution of other legati, that there was no safety for them under the existing régime; as for the soldiers, such standing grounds of discontent as had caused the mutiny on the death of Augustus would have been aggravated at this time by news of the princeps' conduct in Greece and elsewhere, and by jealousy at the gifts lavished on the praetorians (xv 72, 1), especially if, as Suetonius says, their own pay was in arrears.

In Rome itself, the praetorians were naturally disposed to remain

<sup>1</sup> For chief events see Appendix to Book xvi.

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loyal to Nero : but the latter showed himself helpless and cowardly in the crisis, while Tigellinus, incapacitated by debauchery and disease, had lost his power over the troops, so that his colleague Nymphidius was enabled to win them over to Galba's support by promise of a large donative.

§ 8. It is a curious fact that after Nero's death there still remained people who viewed his memory with affection and long continued to deck his grave with flowers ; while the secrecy of his end made it possible for many to believe that he still lived and would one day return to resume his power, and pretenders to his name appeared not only soon after his death but even some twenty years later.

§ 9. Tacitus' description of Nero conveys to us the impression of a character without interest in the practical side of life, but caring only for art and amusements, sinking through unrestrained and unnatural indulgence to the condition of a monster in whom all sense of right and wrong was lost. And though misrepresentation is a common characteristic of the historians of the period of the early empire, making caution necessary in our final estimate of Tiberius and Claudius, in the case of Nero accounts are in the main consistent and credible, and it seems unlikely that further knowledge would give a more favourable picture than Tacitus has left us. For one who was responsible for the death of every near relation he had in the world and of so many of the highest and best of his contemporaries, there is small possibility of extenuation.

## V

### AFFAIRS IN THE EAST

§ 1. The disturbances in Armenia, leading to the hostilities with that country and Parthia, had originated in Claudius' reign. Mithridates, an Iberian prince, who became king of Armenia with Tiberius' support in 35 A.D., was assassinated by his son-in-law Rhadamistus, at the instigation of the Iberian king Pharasmanes, in 52 A.D., and the Roman troops who were in Armenia at the time, ostensibly for Mithridates' support, allowed the murder to pass, and apparently withdrew leaving Rhadamistus in possession of the kingdom.

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Vologeses, king of Parthia, now took the opportunity to support his brother Tiridates in claiming the kingdom in place of Rhadamistus, and occupied the chief cities of Armenia without resistance. But the Parthian troops withdrawing in the same winter (53 A.D.), Rhadamistus returned and again made himself king, but governed with such cruelty that his subjects rebelled, and drove him in flight to Iberia, where for a while he kept up a desultory warfare against Tiridates. The latter however had the support of the Parthians, and at the opening of Nero's reign was master of the situation in Armenia.

§ 2. It was the standing policy of the early emperors that Armenia should be under a king owning the suzerainty of Rome, and vigorous measures were now taken to assert Roman prestige in the East against the encroachment of Parthia. To Tiridates personally it seems there was no insuperable objection, in default of other more desirable candidates for the throne of Armenia: the kingdom must however in the eyes of the world come to him from Rome and not from Parthia. It was, then, to secure this point rather than enforce Roman domination over Armenia that war was now undertaken: the more ambitious policy announced at a subsequent stage by Caesennius Paetus (xv 6, 6) did not receive the serious support of the home government: and that the aims of Rome were throughout limited to securing Tiridates' homage for his kingdom seems likely from the account of the delay in commencing hostilities, the overtures repeatedly made to the enemy (xiii 37, 6; xv 5; xv 27, 1-3), and the reluctance of Corbulo to hold and use the advantages secured by his overwhelming military superiority (xv 6).

§ 3. In his account of the war Tacitus has devoted himself principally to giving a lively character-sketch of Corbulo, depicting him as an able reformer of a disorganized army and an efficient commander in contrast to his futile rival Paetus. The vagueness of geographical and chronological details supplied leaves much to be desired. The narrative often leaves it uncertain whether a series of events belongs to more than a single campaign, and where a winter is mentioned its proper year is often a matter of dispute. The following are the considerations from which the chronological summary of the chief events of the war, given



## AFFAIRS IN THE EAST

below, is conjecturally pieced out. The events of Book xv fall within the years 61-63 A.D., since the close of the events described in Book xiv chs. 23-26 is referred to the same year as the affairs of xiv 27, viz. 60 A.D. As for the events in Book xiv, the long break between ch. 23 and the last mention of Armenian affairs in Book xiii 41 makes it natural to regard the campaigns described in passages so far apart as belonging to different years. Now the capture of Artaxata (xiii 41) is, by the opening words of xiii 42; to be referred to the same year as the trial of Suilius, viz. 58 A.D.; so that we get the two years 59-60 A.D. for the events of xiv 23-26. Tigranocerta was captured after the gathering of harvest (xiv 24, 3), and a sufficient number of important events happened after its capture to justify attributing it to the first of the two years covered by xiv 23-26. Then, as Artaxata was taken in 58 A.D., the winter (xiii 35, 5) spent by Corbulo in Armenia prior to its capture will be that of 57-58 A.D., and this leaves an interval of three years between Corbulo's appointment and his actual commencement of hostilities, the greater part of which we may conjecture was occupied by him in reorganizing his troops (xiii 35), while active operations were rendered for the time unnecessary owing to Vologeses' withdrawal from Armenia (xiii 7, 2).

§ 4. We get accordingly the following scheme of events:

55-56 A.D. Reorganization of troops by Corbulo.

57 A.D. Advance of Roman troops into Armenia: their winter-quarters in Armenia (xiii 35).

58 A.D. Campaign of Corbulo in the north of Armenia against Tiridates; march upon and capture of Artaxata (xiii 35-41).

59 A.D. Corbulo's march from Artaxata, past the Mardi, round the foot of Mounts Ararat and Niphates, to Melazgerd; sufferings from heat and famine; crops obtained in Melazgerd; march continued through Tauraunitium to Tigranocerta; capture of Tigranocerta, followed by that of Legerda (xiv 23-25).

60 A.D. Change of policy, perhaps owing to Corbulo's conquest of Armenia and the complete expulsion of Tiridates; the Romanized prince Tigranes appointed king of Armenia; measures to safeguard him (xiv 26, 3); retirement of Corbulo to Syria.

61 A.D. Fresh efforts on the part of Vologeses to restore Tiridates; Tigranocerta successfully defended by Tigranes;

## INTRODUCTION

arrangement made between Corbulo and Vologeses that Tigranes should evacuate Armenia, while a Parthian embassy should apply to Rome for the settlement of the Armenian question (xv 1-5).

62 A.D. Rejection of Parthian proposals : arrival of Caesennius Paetus professing a commission to make Armenia a province ; his campaign in Armenia and premature withdrawal into winter quarters ; sudden attack of Vologeses on Paetus and disgraceful surrender of the latter, followed by panic flight of the Roman army from Armenia, Tiridates and Vologeses being left in possession (xv 7-17).

63 A.D. Rejection of offer that Tiridates should do homage to Nero's effigy in Syria or Cappadocia ; great extension of authority to Corbulo ; invasion of Armenia by Corbulo, and Tiridates' submission (xv 24-31)<sup>1</sup>.

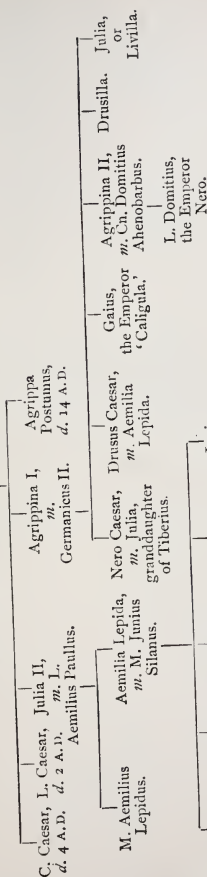
Nero received Tiridates' homage at Rome in 66 A.D. (xvi 24), and the arrangement thus made with Armenia lasted on without disturbance till the time of Trajan.

<sup>1</sup> The student will find a valuable contribution on the chronology of this Armenian war, by Mr. B. W. Henderson, in *The Classical Review*, vol. xv nos. 3, 4, and 5

# VI (1). A. DESCENDANTS OF AUGUSTUS.

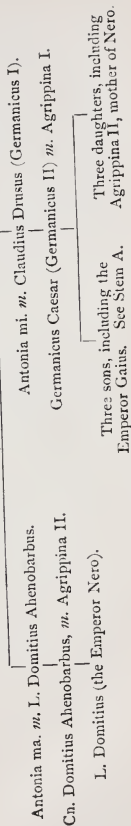
C. Octavius = Scribonia.  
(Caesar Augustus)

M. Vipsanius Agrippa = Julia L.



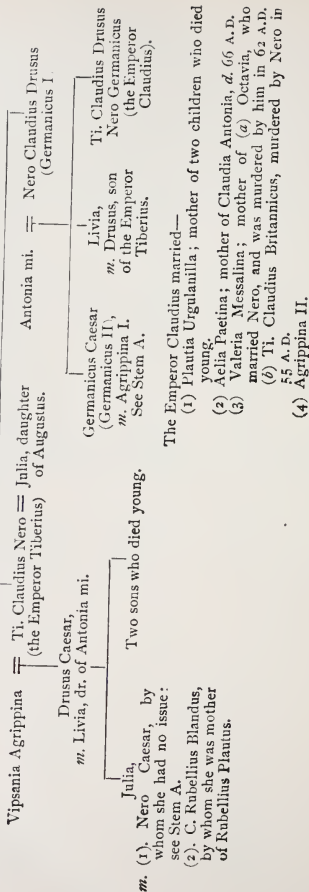
## B. DESCENDANTS OF OCTAVIA, SISTER OF AUGUSTUS.

Octavia = M. Antonius (triumvir).



## VI (2). C. THE CLAUDIAN CAESARS.

Ti. Claudius Caesar,  
 descended from Appius Claudius  
 Caecus, *d.* 33 B.C.



ANNALES

XIII—XVI

## LIBER XIII.

1. PRIMA novo principatu mors Iunii Silani proconsulis Asiae ignaro Nerone per dolum Agrippinae paratur, non quia ingenii violentia exitium inritaverat, segnis et dominationibus aliis fastiditus, adeo ut Gaius Caesar pecudem auream eum  
 5 appellare solitus sit: verum Agrippina fratri eius L. Silano necem molita ultorem metuebat, crebra vulgi fama anteponendum esse vixdum pueritiam egresso Neroni et imperium per scelus adepto virum aetate composita, insontem, nobilem et, quod tunc spectaretur, e Caesarum posteris: quippe et  
 10 Silanus divi Augusti abnepos erat. haec causa necis. ministri fuere P. Celer eques Romanus et Helius libertus, rei familiari principis in Asia inpositi. ab his proconsuli venenum inter epulas datum est apertius quam ut fallerent. nec minus  
 4 properato Narcissus Claudii libertus, de cuius iurgiis adversus  
 15 Agrippinam rettuli, aspera custodia et necessitate extrema ad mortem adigitur, invito principe, cuius abditis adhuc vitiis per avaritiam ac prodigientiam mire congruebat.

2. Ibaturque in caedes, nisi Afranius Burrus et Annaeus Seneca obviam issent. hi rectores imperatoriae iuventutis et,  
 20 rarum in societate potentiae, concordēs, diversa arte ex aequo pollebant, Burrus militaribus curis et severitate morum, Seneca praeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta, iuvantes in vicem, quo facilius lubricam principis aetatem, si virtutem aspernaretur, voluptatibus concessis retinerent. certamen utrique  
 25 unum erat contra ferociam Agrippinae, quae cunctis malae dominationis cupidinibus flagrans habebat in partibus Pallantem, quo auctore Claudius nuptiis incestis et adoptione exitiosa semet pervererat. sed neque Neroni infra servos  
 4 ingenium, et Pallas tristi adrogantia modum liberti egressus

5 taedium sui moverat. propalam tamen omnes in eam honores  
cumulabantur, signumque more militiae petenti tribuno dedit  
6 optimae matris. decreti et a senatu duo lictores, flamonium  
Claudiale, simul Claudio censorium funus et mox consecratio.

3. Die funeris laudationem eius princeps exorsus est, 5  
dum antiquitatem generis, consulatus ac triumphos maiorum  
enumerabat, intentus ipse et ceteri; liberalium quoque  
artium commemoratio et nihil regente eo triste rei publicae  
2 ab externis accidisse pronis animis audita: postquam ad  
providentiam sapientiamque flexit, nemo risui temperare, 10  
quamquam oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus prae-  
ferret, ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius  
3 auribus adcommodatum. adnotabant seniores, quibus otiosum  
est vetera et praesentia contendere, primum ex iis qui rerum  
4 potiti essent Neronem alienae facundiae eguisse. nam dictator 15  
Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus; et Augusto prompta ac  
5 profluens quaeque deceret principem eloquentia fuit. Tiberius  
artem quoque callebat, qua verba expenderet, tum validus  
6 sensibus aut consulto ambiguus. etiam Gai Caesaris turbata  
mens vim dicendi non corrumpit. nec in Claudio, quotiens 20  
7 meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres. Nero puerilibus  
statim annis vividum animum in alia detorsit: caelare,  
pingere, cantus aut regimen equorum exercere; et ali-  
quando carminibus pangendis inesse sibi elementa doctrinae  
ostendebat.

25

4. Ceterum peractis tristitiae imitamentis curiam ingressus  
et de auctoritate patrum et consensu militum praefatus, consilia  
sibi et exempla capessendi egregie imperii memoravit, neque  
iuventam armis civilibus aut domesticis discordiis inbutam;  
nulla odia, nullas iniurias nec cupidinem ultionis adferre. 30  
2 tum formam futuri principatus praescripsit, ea maxime de-  
clinans, quorum recens flagrabat invidia. non enim se ne-  
gotiorum omnium iudicem fore, ut clausis unam intra domum

accusatoribus et reis paucorum potentia grassaretur; nihil in penatibus suis venale aut ambitioni pervium; discretam domum et rem publicam. teneret antiqua <sup>peru.</sup>munia senatus, consulum 3 tribunalibus Italia et publicae provinciae adsisterent: illi patrum 5 aditum praeberent, se mandatis exercitibus consulturum.

5. Nec defuit fides, multaque arbitrio senatus constituta sunt: ne quis ad causam orandam mercede aut donis emeretur, ne designatis quaestoribus edendi gladiatores necessitas esset. quod quidem adversante Agrippina, tamquam acta Claudii 2  
10 subverterentur, obtinere patres, qui in Palatium ob id vocabantur, ut adstaret additis a tergo foribus velo <sup>subl.</sup>discreta, quod visum arceret, auditus non adimeret. quin et legatis 3 Armeniorum causam gentis apud Neronem orantibus ~~escer-~~ dere suggestum imperatoris et praesidere simul parabat, nisi 15 ceteris pavore defixis Seneca admonuisset, venienti matri occurreret. Ita specie pietatis obviam itum dedecori.

6. Fine anni turbidis rumoribus prorupisse rursum Parthos et rapi Armeniam adlatum est, pulso Radamisto, qui saepe regni eius potitus, dein profugus, tum quoque bellum dese- 20 ruerat. igitur in urbe sermonum avida, quem ad modum 2 princeps vix septemdecim annos egressus suscipere eam molem aut propulsare posset, quod subsidium in eo qui a femina regeretur, num proelia quoque et obpugnationes urbium et cetera belli per magistros administrari possent, 25 anquirebant. contra alii melius evenisse disserunt, quam si 3 invalidus senecta et ignavia Claudius militiae ad labores vocaretur, servilibus iussis obtemperaturus. Burrum tamen et 4 Senecam multarum rerum experientia cognitos; et imperatori quantum ad robur deesse, cum octavo decumo aetatis anno 30 Cn. Pompeius, nono decumo Caesar Octavianus civilia bella sustinuerint? pleraque in summa fortuna auspiciis et consiliis 5 quam telis et manibus geri. daturum plane documentum, 6 honestis an secus amicis uteretur, si ducem amota invidia



egregium, quam si pecuniosum et gratia subnixum per  
ambitum deligeret.

7. Haec atque talia vulgantibus, Nero et iuventutem proxi-  
mas per provincias quaesitam supplendis Orientis legionibus  
admovere legionesque ipsas propius Armeniam collocari iubet, 5  
duosque veteres reges Agrippam et Antiochum expedire  
copias, quis Parthorum fines ultro intrarent, simul pontes per  
2 amnem Euphraten iungi; et minorem Armeniam Aristobulo,  
regionem Sophenen Sohaemo cum insignibus regiis mandat.  
exortusque in tempore aemulus Vologesi filius Vardanes; et 10  
abscessere Armenia Parthi, tamquam differrent bellum.

8. Sed apud senatum omnia in maius celebrata sunt  
sententiis eorum, qui supplicationes et diebus supplicationum  
vestem principi triumphalem, utque ovans urbem iniret,  
effigiemque eius pari magnitudine ac Martis Ultoris eodem 15  
in templo censuere, praeter suetam adulationem laeti, quod  
Domitium Corbulonem retinendae Armeniae praeposuerat  
2 videbaturque locus virtutibus patefactus. copiae Orientis ita  
dividuntur, ut pars auxiliarium cum duabus legionibus apud  
provinciam Suriam et legatum eius Quadratum Ummidium 20  
remaneret, par civium sociorumque numerus Corbuloni esset,  
additis cohortibus alisque, quae in Cappadocia hiemabant.  
3 socii reges, prout bello conducirer, parere iussi: sed studia  
4 eorum in Corbulonem promptiora erant. qui ut instaret  
famae, quae in novis coeptis validissima est, itinere prope 25  
confecto apud Aegeas civitatem Ciliciae obvium Quadratum  
habuit, illuc progressum, ne, si ad accipiendas copias Suriam  
intravisset Corbulo, omnium ora in se verteret, corpore ingens,  
verbis magnificis et super experientiam sapientiamque etiam  
30 specie inanum validus.

9. Ceterum uterque ad Vologesen regem nuntiis mone-  
bant, pacem quam bellum mallet datisque obsidibus solitam  
prioribus reverentiam in populum Romanum continuaret.

et Vologeses, quo bellum ex commodo pararet, an ut 2  
 aemulationis suspectos per nomen obsidum <sup>vid</sup> amoveret, tradit  
 nobilissimos ex familia Arsacidarum. accepitque eos centurio 3  
 Insteius ab Ummidio missus, forte prior ea de causa adito  
 5 rege. quod postquam Corbuloni cognitum est, ire prae-  
 fectum cohortis Arrium Varum et reciperare <sup>parare</sup> obsides iubet.  
 hinc ortum inter praefectum et centurionem iurgium ne 4  
 diutius externis spectaculo esset, arbitrium rei obsidibus  
 legatisque, qui eos ducebant, permissum. atque illi per 5  
 10 recentem gloriam et inclinatione quadam etiam hostium  
 Corbulonem praetulere. unde discordia inter duces, querente 6  
 Ummidio praerepta quae suis consiliis <sup>vid</sup> patravisset, testante  
 contra Corbulone non prius conversum regem ad offerendos  
 obsides quam ipse dux bello delectus spes eius ad metum  
 15 mutaret. Nero quo componeret diversos, sic evulgari iussit: 7  
 ob res a Quadrato et Corbulone prospere gestas laurum  
 fascibus imperatoriis addi. quae in alios consules <sup>egressa</sup>  
 coniunxi.

10. Eodem anno Caesar effigiem Cn. Domitio patri et  
 20 consularia insignia Asconio Labeoni, quo tutore usus erat, 1  
 petivit a senatu; sibi que statuas argento vel auro solidas ad-  
versus offerentes prohibuit. et quamquam censuissent patres, 2  
 ut principium anni inciperet mense Decembri, quo ortus erat  
 Nero, veterem religionem <sup>religionem</sup> calendarum Ianuariarum inchoando  
 25 anno retinuit. neque recepti sunt inter reos Carrinas Celer 3  
 senator, servo accusante, aut Iulius Densus equester, cui 11  
 favor in Britannicum crimini dabatur.

11. Claudio Nerone L. Antistio consulibus cum in acta  
 principum iurarent magistratus, in sua acta collegam Antistium  
 30 iurare prohibuit, magnis patrum laudibus, ut iuvenilis animus  
 levium quoque rerum gloria sublatus maiores continuaret.  
 secutaque lenitas in Plautium Lateranum, quem ob adulterium 2  
 Messalinae ordine demotum reddidit senatui, clementiam suam

obstringens crebris orationibus, quas Seneca, testificando  
 1) quam honesta praeciperet, vel iaculandi ingenii, voce principis  
 vulgabat.

12. Ceterum infracta paulatim potentia matris delapso  
 Nerone in amorem libertae, cui vocabulum Acte fuit, simul 5  
 adsumptis in conscientiam M. Othone et Claudio Senecione,  
 adolescentulis decoris, quorum Otho familia consulari, Senecio  
 12) liberto Caesaris patre genitus. ignara matre, dein frustra  
 obnitente, penitus inreperat per luxum et ambigua secreta,  
 ne senioribus quidem principis amicis adversantibus, mulier- 10  
 cula nulla cuiusquam iniuria cupidines principis explente,  
 quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili quidem et probitatis spectatae,  
 fato quodam, an quia praevalent illicita, abhorrebat, metue-  
 baturque, ne in supra feminarum inlustrium prorumperet, si  
 illa libidine prohiberetur.

13. Sed Agrippina libertam aemulam, nurum ancillam  
 aliaque eundem in modum muliebriter fremere, neque paeni-  
 tentiam filii aut satietatem opperiri, quantoque foediora  
 1) reprobat, acrius accendere, donec vi amoris subactus  
 exueret obsequium in matrem seque Senecae permetteret, 20  
 ex cuius familiaribus Annaeus Serenus simulatione amoris  
 adversus eandem libertam primas adolescentis cupidines  
 velaverat praebueratque nomen, ut quae princeps furtim  
 2 mulierculae tribuebat, ille palam largiretur, tum Agrippina  
 versis artibus per blandimenta iuvenem adgredi, suum potius 25  
 cubiculum ac sinum offerre contegendis quae prima aetas et  
 3 summa fortuna expeterent: quin et fatebatur intempestivam  
 severitatem et suarum opum, quae haud procul imperatoris  
 aberant, copias tradebat, ut nimia nuper coercendo filio, ita  
 4 rursum intemperanter demissa. quae mutatio neque Neronem 30  
 fessellit, et proximi amicorum metuebant orabantque cavere  
 5 insidias mulieris semper atrocis, tum et falsae. forte illis  
 diebus Caesar inspecto ornatu, quo principum coniuges ac

parentes effulserant, deligit vestem et gemmas misitque donum matri nulla parsimonia, cum praecipua et cupita aliis prior deferret. sed Agrippina non his instrui cultus suos, sed 6 ceteris arceri proclamat et dividere filium, quae cuncta ex  
5 ipsa haberet.

14. Nec defuere qui in deterius referrent. et Nero infensus iis, quibus superbia muliebris innitebatur, demovet Pallantem cura rerum, quia a Claudio impositus velut arbitrium regni agebat; ferebaturque degrediente eo magna prosequentium  
10 multitudine non absurde dixisse, ire Pallantem ut eiuraret. sane pepigerat Pallas ne cuius facti in praeteritum interro- 2 garetur paresque rationes cum re publica haberet. praeceps 3 posthac Agrippina ruere ad terrorem et minas, neque principis auribus abstinere, quo minus testaretur adultum iam esse  
15 Britannicum, veram dignamque stirpem suscipiendo patris imperio, quod ~~insitus~~ et adoptivus per iniurias matris exerceret. non abnuere se quin cuncta infelicis domus mala 4 patefierent, suae in primis nuptiae, suum veneficium: id solum dis et sibi provisum, quod viveret privignus. ituram 5  
20 cum illo in castra; audiretur hinc Germanici filia, inde debilis rursus Burrus et exul Seneca, trunca scilicet manu et profes- soria lingua generis humani regimen expostulantes. simul 6 intendere manus, aggerere probra, consecratum Claudium, infernos Silanorum manes invocare et tot inrita facinora.

25 15. Turbatus his Nero et propinquo die, quo quantum decimum aetatis annum Britannicus explebat, volutare secum modo matris violentiam, modo ipsius indolem, levi quidem experimento nuper cognitam, quo tamen favorem late quaesi- visset. festis Saturno diebus inter alia aequalium ludicra 2  
30 regnum lusu sortientium evenerat ea sors Neroni. igitur 3 ceteris ~~diversa~~ nec ruborem adlatura: ubi Britannico iussit exsurgeret progressusque in medium cantum aliquem inciperet, inrisum ex eo sperans pueri sobrios quoque convictus, nedum

*victorious society*  
temulentos ignorantis, ille constanter exorsus est carmen, quo  
evolutum cum sede patria rebusque summis significabatur.  
unde orta miseratio manifestior, quia dissimulationem nox et  
4 lascivia exemerat. Nero intellecta invidia odium intendit;  
urgentibusque Agrippinae minis, quia nullum crimen neque 5  
iubere caedem fratris palam audebat, occulta molitur parari-  
que venenum iubet, ministro Pollione Iulio praetoriae cohortis  
tribuno, cuius cura attinebatur damnata veneficii nomine  
5 Locusta multa scelerum fama. nam ut proximus quisque  
Britannico neque fas neque fidem pensi haberet, olim pro- 10  
6 visum erat. primum venenum ab ipsis educatoribus accepit,  
tramisitque exsoluta alvo parum validum, sive temperamentum  
7 inerat, ne statim saeviret. sed Nero lenti sceleris inpatiens  
minitari tribuno, iubere supplicium veneficae, quod, dum  
rumorem respiciunt, dum parant defensiones, securitatem 15  
8 morarentur. promittentibus dein tam praecipitem necem  
quam si ferro urgueretur, cubiculum Caesaris iuxta decoquitur  
virus cognitis antea venenis rapidum.

16. Mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem  
aetatis nobilibus sedentes vesci in aspectu propinquorum 20  
2 propria et parcior mensa. illic epulante Britannico, quia  
cibos potusque eius delectus ex ministris gustu explorabat, ne  
omitteretur institutum aut utriusque morte proderetur scelus,  
3 talis dolus repertus est. innoxia adhuc ac praecalida et  
libata gustu potio traditur Britannico; dein, postquam fervore 25  
aspernabatur, frigida in aqua adfunditur venenum, quod ita  
cunctos eius artus pervasit, ut vox pariter et spiritus rape-  
4 rentur. trepidatur a circumsedentibus, diffugiunt imprudentes:  
at quibus altior intellectus, resistunt defixi et Neronem in-  
5 tuentes. ille ut erat reclinis et nescio similis, solitum ita ait 30  
6 per comitalem morbum, quo prima ab infantia adflicaretur  
Britannicus, et redituros paulatim visus sensusque. at Agrip-  
pinae is pavor, ea consternatio mentis, quamvis vultu pre-  
*confusion*

meretur, <sup>1204</sup>enificuit, ut perinde ignaram fuisse *atque* Octaviam sororem Britannici constiterit: quippe sibi supremum auxilium ereptum et parricidii <sup>procedunt</sup>exemplum intellegebat. Octavia quoque, 7  
1 quamvis rudibus annis, dolorem, caritatem, omnis adfectus  
5 abscondere didicerat. ita post breve silentium repetita convivii laetitia.

17. Nox eadem necem Britannici et rogam <sup>intresset</sup>coniunxit,  
proviso ante <sup>obsequies</sup>funebri paratu, qui <sup>modicus</sup>modicus fuit. in campo 2  
tanren Martis sepultus est adeo turbidis imbris, ut vulgus  
10 iram deum portendi crediderit adversus facinus, cui plerique  
etiam hominum ignoscebant, antiquas fratrum discordias et  
insociabile regnum aestimantes. tradunt plerique eorum 3 +  
temporum scriptores, crebris ante exitium diebus illusum isse  
pueritiae Britannici Neronem, ut iam non praematura neque  
15 saeva mors videri queat, quamvis inter sacra mensae, ne  
tempore quidem ad complexum sororum dato, ante oculos  
inimici properata sit in illum supremum Claudiorum san-  
guinem, <sup>del. mori</sup>stupro prius quam veneno pollutum. festinationem 4  
exsequiarum edicto Caesar defendit, ita maioribus institutum  
20 referens, subtrahere oculis acerba funera neque laudationibus  
aut pompa <sup>debere</sup>definere. ceterum et sibi amisso fratris auxilio 5  
reliquas spes in re publica sitas, et tanto magis fovendum  
patribus populoque principem, qui unus superesset e familia  
summum ad <sup>matris</sup>fastigium genita.

25 18. Eximi largitione potissimos amicorum auxit. nec  
defuere qui arguerent viros gravitatem adseverantes, quod  
domos villas <sup>id</sup>temporis quasi praedam divisissent. alii 2  
necessitatem adhibitam credebant a principe, sceleris sibi  
conscio et veniam sperante, si largitionibus validissimum  
30 quemque obstrinxisset. at matris ira nulla munificentia leniri, 3  
sed amplecti Octaviam, crebra cum amicis secreta habere,  
super ingenitam avaritiam undique pecunias quasi in subsi-  
dium corriprens, tribunos et centuriones comiter excipere,

nomina et virtutes nobilium, qui etiam tum supererant, in  
 4 honore habere, quasi quaereret ducem et partes. cognitum  
 id Neroni, <sup>quod</sup> excubiasque militares, quae ut coniungi imperatoris  
 olim, tum ut matri servabantur, et Germanos nuper eundem  
 5 in honorem custodes additos degredi iubet. ac ne coetu 5  
 salutantium frequentaretur, separat domum matremque trans-  
 fert in eam quae Antoniae fuerat, quotiens ipse illuc ventitaret,  
 saeptus turba centurionum et post breve osculum digrediens.

19. Nilil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est quam  
 fama potentiae non sua vi nixae. statim relictum Agrippinae 10  
 limen: nemo solari, nemo adire praeter paucas feminas,  
 2 amore an odio incertas. ex quibus erat Iunia Silana, quam  
 matrimonio C. Sili a Messalina depulsam supra rettuli,  
 insignis genere forma lascivia, et Agrippinae diu percara, mox  
 occultis inter eas offensionibus, quia Sextium Africanum 15  
 nobilem iuvenem a nuptiis Silanae deterruerat Agrippina,  
 impudicam et vergentem annis dictitans, non ut Africanum  
 sibi seponeret, sed ne opibus et orbitate Silanae maritus  
 3 poteretur. illa spe ultionis oblata parat accusatores ex  
 clientibus suis, Iturium et Calvisium, non vetera et saepius 20  
 iam audita deferens, quod Britannici mortem lugeret aut  
 Octaviae iniurias evulgaret, sed destinavisse eam Rubellium  
 Plautum, per maternam originem pari ac Nero gradu a divo 11  
 Augusto, ad res novas extollere coniugioque eius et iam  
 4 imperio rem publicam rursus <sup>saepius</sup> invadere. haec Iturius et 25  
 Calvisius Atimeto, Domitiae Neronis amitae liberto, aperiunt.  
 qui laetus oblati (quippe inter Agrippinam et Domitiam  
 infensa aemulatio exercebatur) Paridem histrionem, libertum  
 et ipsum Domitiae, impulit ire propere crimenque atrociter  
 deferre.

30

20. Profecta nox erat et Neroni per vinolentiam trahebatur,  
 cum ingreditur Paris, solitus alioquin id temporis luxus prin-  
 cipis intendere, sed tunc compositus ad maestitiam, exposi-



toque indicii ordine ita audientem exterret, ut non tantum matrem Plautumque interficere, sed Burrum etiam demovere praefectura destinaret tamquam Agrippinae gratia provectum et vicem reddentem. Fabius Rusticus auctor est, scriptos 2  
 5 esse ad Caecinam Tuscum <sup>note</sup> codicillos, mandata ei praetoriarum cohortium cura, sed ope Senecae dignationem Burro retentam: Plinius et Cluvius nihil dubitatum de fide praefecti referunt; 3  
 sane Fabius inclinatus ad laudes Senecae, cuius amicitia floruit. nos consensum auctorum secuturi, si qui diversa prodiderint, 4  
 10 sub nominibus ipsorum trademus. Nero trepidus et interficiendae matris avidus non prius differri potuit, quam Burrus necem eius promitteret, si facinoris coargueretur: sed cuicumque, nedum parenti defensionem tribuendam; nec accusatores adesse, sed vocem unius ex inimica domo adferri: 13  
 reputaret tenebras et vigilatam convivio noctem omniaque temeritati et inscitiae propiora.

21. Sic lenito principis metu et luce orta itur ad Agrippinam, ut nosceret objecta dissolveretque vel poenas lueret. Burrus iis mandatis Seneca coram fungebatur; aderant et ex 2  
 20 libertis arbitri sermonis. deinde a Burro, postquam crimina et auctores exposuit, minaciter actum est. Agrippina ferociae 3  
 memor 'non miror' inquit 'Silanum, numquam edito partu, matrum adfectus ignotos habere; neque enim proinde a parentibus liberi quam ab impudica adulteri mutantur. nec si 4  
 25 Iturius et Calvisius adesit omnibus fortunis novissimam suscipiendae accusationis operam anui rependunt, ideo aut mihi infamia parricidii aut Caesari conscientia subeunda est. nam 5  
 Domitiae inimicitias gratias agerem, si benevolentia mecum in Neronem meum certaret: nunc per concubinum Atimetum  
 30 et histrionem Paridem quasi scaenae fabulas componit. Baiaurum suarum piscinas extollebat, cum meis consiliis adoptio 6  
 et proconsulare ius et designatio consulatus et cetera apiscendo imperio praepararentur. aut exsistat qui cohortes in urbe 7



temptatas, qui provinciarum fidem labefactatam, denique ser-  
 8 vos vel libertos ad scelus corruptos arguat. vivere ego Britan-  
 nico potente rerum poteram? ac si Plautus aut quis alius rem  
 publicam iudicaturus obtinuerit, desunt scilicet mihi accusa-  
 //lores, qui non verba impatientia caritatis aliquando incauta, sed 5  
 ea crimina obiciant, quibus nisi a filio absolvi non possim. }  
 9 commotis qui aderant ultroque spiritus eius mitigantibus,  
 conloquium filii exposcit, ubi nihil pro innocentia, quasi  
 diffideret, nec de beneficiis, quasi exprobraret, disseruit, sed  
 ultionem in delatores et praemia amicis obtinuit. } 10

22. Praefectura annonae Faenio Rufo, cura ludorum, qui  
 a Caesare parabantur, Arruntio Stellae, Aegyptus Ti. Balbillo  
 2 permittuntur. Suria P. Anteio destinata, sed variis mox  
 3 artibus elusus, ad postremum in urbe retentus est. at Silana  
 in exilium acta; Calvisius quoque et Iturius relegantur; de 15  
 Atimeto supplicium sumptum, validiore apud libidines prin-  
 cipis Paride quam ut poena adficeretur. Plautus ad praesens  
 silentio transmissus est.

23. Deferuntur dehinc consensisse Pallas ac Burrus, ut  
 Cornelius Sulla claritudine generis et adfinitate Claudii, cui 20  
 per nuptias Antoniae gener erat, ad imperium vocaretur.  
 2 eius accusationis auctor extitit Paetus quidam, exercendis  
 apud aerarium sectionibus famosus et tum vanitatis mani-  
 3 festus. nec tam grata Pallantis innocentia quam gravis  
 superbia fuit: quippe nominatis libertis eius, quos conscios 25  
 haberet, respondit nihil umquam se domi nisi nutu aut manu  
 significasse, vel si plura demonstranda essent, scripto usum,  
 4 ne vocem consociaret. Burrus quamvis reus inter iudices  
 sententiam dixit. exiliumque accusatori inrogatum et tabulae  
 exustae sunt, quibus oblitterata aerarii nomina retrahabat. 30

24. Fine anni statio cohortis adsidere ludis solita de-  
 movetur, quo maior species libertatis esset, utque miles  
 theatralli licentiae non permixtus incorruptior ageret et plebes

daret experimentum, an amotis custodibus <sup>self. - 10</sup> modestiam <sup>hous</sup> retineret. urbem princeps lustravit ex responso <sup>haruspicum</sup> haruspicum, 2 quod Iovis ac Minervae aedes de caelo tactae erant.

25. Q. Volusio P. Scipione consulibus <sup>place abroad</sup> otium foris, foeda  
5 domi lascivia, qua Nero itinera urbis et lupanaria et deverti-  
cula veste servili in dissimulationem sui compositus pererrabat,  
comitantibus qui raperent venditioni exposita et obviis vulnera  
inferrent, adversus ignaros adeo, ut ipse quoque exciperet  
ictus et ore praeferret. deinde ubi Caesarem esse qui 2  
10 grassaretur pernotuit augebanturque iniuriae adversus viros  
feminasque insignes, et quidam permissa semel licentia sub  
nomine Neronis inulti propriis cum <sup>3000</sup> globis eadem exercebant,  
11 in modum captivitatis nox agebatur; Iuliusque Montanus  
senatorii ordinis, sed qui nondum honorem capessisset,  
15 congressus forte per tenebras cum principe, quia vi attemp-  
tantem acriter reppulerat, deinde adgnitum oraverat, quasi  
exprobrasset, mori adactus est. Nero tamen metuentior in 3  
posterum milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit,  
qui rixarum initia modica et quasi privata sinerent: si a laesis  
20 validius ageretur, arma inferebant. ludicram quoque licentiam 4  
et fautores histrionum velut in proelia convertit impunitate et  
praemiis atque ipse occultus et plerumque coram prospectans,  
donec discordi populo et gravioris motus terrore non aliud  
remedium repertum est, quam ut histriones Italia pellerentur  
25 milesque theatro rursum adsideret.

26. Per idem tempus actum in senatu de fraudibus liber-  
torum, efflagitatumque ut adversus male meritos revocandae  
libertatis ius patropis daretur. nec deerant qui censerent, 2  
sed consules <sup>relationem</sup> relationem incipere non ausi ignaro principe,  
30 perscripsere tamen ei consensum senatus. ille an auctor  
constitutionis fieret consultavit inter paucos et sententiae  
diversos, quibusdam coalitam libertate inreverentiam eo  
prorupisse frementibus, *ut* vine an aequo cum patronis iuve

agerent, † sententiam eorum consultarent ac verberibus manus  
uliro intenderent, impudenter vel poenam suam ipsi suadentes.  
3 quid enim aliud laeso patrono concessum quam ut centesimum  
ultra lapidem in oram Campaniae libertum releget? ceteras  
actiones promiscas et pares esse: tribuendum aliquod telum 5  
4 quod sperni nequeat. nec grave manu missis per idem  
5 obsequium retinendi libertatem, per quod adsecuti sint: at  
criminum manifestos merito ad servitutem retrahi, ut metu  
coerceantur quos beneficia non mutavissent.

27. Disserebatur contra: paucorum culpam ipsis exitiosam 10  
esse debere, nihil universorum iuri derogandum; quippe late  
2 fusum id corpus. hinc plerumque tribus, decurias, ministeria  
magistratibus et sacerdotibus, cohortes etiam in urbe con-  
scriptas; et plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus non  
aliunde originem trahi: si separarentur libertini, manifestam 15  
3 fore penuriam ingenuorum. non frustra maiores, cum digni-  
tatem ordinum dividerent, libertatem in communi posuisse.  
4 quin et manu mittendi duas species institutas, ut relinqueretur  
paenitentiae aut novo beneficio locus. quos vindicta patronus  
5 non liberaverit, velut vincolo servitutis attineri. dispiceret 20  
quisque merita tardeque concederet quod datum non adi-  
6 meretur. haec sententia valuit, scripsitque Caesar senatui,  
privatim expenderent causam libertorum, quotiens a patronis  
7 arguerentur: in commune nihil derogarent. nec multo post  
ereptus amitae libertus Paris quasi iure civili, non sine infamia 25  
principis, cuius iussu perpetratum ingenuitatis iudicium erat.

28. Manebat nihilo minus quaedam imago rei publicae.  
nam inter Vibullium praetorem et plebei tribunum Antistium  
ortum certamen, quod inmodestos fautores. histrionum et  
2 a praetore in vincla ductos tribunus omitti iussisset. con- 30  
probavere patres, incusata Antistii licentia. simul prohibiti  
tribuni ius praetorum et consulum praeripere aut vocare ex  
3 Italia cum quibus lege agi posset. addidit L. Piso designatus

consul, ne quid intra domum pro potestate adverterent, neve multam ab iis dictam quaestores aerarii in publicas tabulas ante quattuor menses referrent; medio temporis contra dicere liceret, deque eo consules statuerent. cohibita artius 4  
5 et aedilium potestas statutumque quantum curules, quantum plebei pignoris caperent vel poenae inrogarent. et Helvidius 5  
Priscus tribunus plebei adversus Obultronium Sabinum aerarii quaestorem contentiones proprias exercuit, tamquam  
ius hastae adversus inopes inclementer augetet. dein princeps  
10 curam tabularum publicarum a quaestoribus ad praefectos transtulit.

29. Varie habita ac saepe mutata eius rei forma. nam Augustus senatui permisit deligere praefectos; deinde ambitu suffragiorum suspecto, sorte ducebantur ex numero praetorum  
15 qui praessent. neque id diu mansit, quia sors deerrabat ad 2  
parum idoneos. tunc Claudius quaestores rursus imposuit, iisque, ne metu offensionum segnius consulerent, extra ordinem honores promisit: sed deerat robur aetatis eum primum magistratum capessentibus. igitur Nero praetura 3  
20 perfunctos et experientia probatos delegit.

30. Damnatus isdem consulibus Vipsanius Laenas ob Sardiniam provinciam avare habitam. absolutus Cestius Proculus repetundarum, Cretensibus accusantibus. Clodius 2  
Quirinalis, quod praefectus reingum, qui Ravennae habebantur, velut infimam nationum Italianam luxuria saevitiaque  
25 afflictavisset, veneno damnationem anteit. Caninius Rebilus, 3  
ex primoribus peritia legum et pecuniae magnitudine, cruciatus aegrae senectae emissio per venas sanguine effugit,  
|| haud creditus sufficere ad constantiam sumendae mortis, ob  
30 libidines muliebriter infamis. at L. Volusius egregia fama 4  
concessit, cui tres et nonaginta anni spatium vivendi praecipuaeque opes bonis artibus inoffensa tot imperatorum malitia fuerunt.

*little*

31. Nerone iterum L. Pisone consulibus pauca memoria  
digna evenere, nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et  
tribubus, quis molem amphitheatri apud campum Martis  
Caesar extruxerat, volumina implere, cum ex dignitate populi  
Romani repertum sit res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis 5  
2 actis mandare. ceterum coloniae Capua, atque Nuceria  
additis veteranis firmatae sunt, plebeique congiarium quad-  
ringenti nummi viritim dati, et sestertium quadringentiens  
3 aerario inlatum est ad retinendam populi fidem. vectigal  
quoque quintae et vicensimae venalium mancipiorum re- 10  
missum, specie magis quam vi, quia cum venditor pendere  
4 iuberetur, in partem pretii emptoribus adrescebat. edixit  
Caesar, ne quis magistratus aut procurator in provincia  
quam obtineret spectaculum gladiatorum aut ferarum aut quod  
5 aliud ludicrum ederet. nam ante non minus tali largitione 15  
quam corripiendis pecuniis subiectos adfligebant, dum quae  
libidine deliquerant, ambitu propugnabant.

32. Factum et senatus consultum ultioni iuxta et securitati,  
ut si quis a suis servis interfectus esset, ii quoque, qui testa-  
mento manu missi sub eodem tecto mansissent, inter servos 20  
2 supplicia penderent. redditur ordini Lurius Varus consularis,  
3 avaritiae criminibus olim percussus. et Pomponia Graecina  
insignis femina, A. Plautio, quem ovasse de Britannis rettuli,  
nupta ac superstitionis externae rea, mariti iudicio permissa.  
4 isque prisco instituto propinquis coram de capite famaue 25  
coniugis cognovit et insontem pronuntiavit. longa huic  
5 Pomponiae aetas et continua tristitia fuit. nam post Iuliam  
Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae interfectam, per quadraginta  
annos non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi maesto egit;  
idque illi imperitante Claudio inpune, mox ad gloriam vertit. 30

33. Idem annus plures reos habuit, quorum P. Celerem  
accusante Asia, quia absolvere nequibat Caesar, traxit,  
2 senecta donec mortem obiret; nam Celer interfecto, ut

memoravi, Silano pro consule magnitudine sceleris cetera flagitia obtegebat. Cossutianum Capitonem Cilices detulerant 3 maculosum foedumque et idem ius audaciae in provincia raturum quod in urbe exercuerat; sed pervicaci accusatione 5 conflictatus postremo defensionem omisit ac lege repetundarum damnatus est. pro Eprio Marcello, a quo Lycii res repetebant, 4 eo usque ambitus praevaluit, ut quidam accusatorum eius exilio multarentur, tamquam insonti periculum fecissent. ✓

34. Nerone tertium consule simul iniit consulatum Valerius 10 Messalla, cuius proavum, oratorem Corvinum, divo Augusto, abavo Neronis, collegam in eo magistratu fuisse pauci iam senum meminerant, sed nobili familiae honor auctus est 2 oblati in singulos annos quingenis sestertiis, quibus Messalla paupertatem innoxiam sustentaret. Aurelio quoque Cottae 3 15 et Haterio Antonino annuam pecuniam statuit princeps, quamvis per luxum avitas opes dissipassent.

Eius anni principio mollibus adhuc initiis prolaturum inter 4 Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda Armenia bellum acriter resumitur, quia nec Vologeses sinebat fratrem Tiridaten 20 dati a se regni expertem esse aut alienae id potentiae donum habere, et Corbulo dignum magnitudine populi Romani rebatur parta olim a Lucullo Pompeioque recipere. ad hoc 5 Armenii ambigua fide utraque arma invitabant, situ terrarum, similitudine morum Parthis propiores conubiisque permixti 25 ac libertate ignota illud magis ad servitium inclinantes.

35. Sed Corbuloni plus molis adversus ignaviam militum quam contra perfidiam hostium erat: quippe Suria transmotae 2 legiones, pace longa segnes, munia castrorum aegerrime tolerabant, satis constitit fuisse in eo exercitu veteranos, qui 3 30 non stationem, non vigilas inissent, vallum fossamque quasi nova et mira viserent, sine galeis, sine loriceis, nitidi et quaestuosi, militia per oppida expleta. igitur dimissis quibus 4 senectus aut valetudo adversa erat, supplementum petivit.

et habiti per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus, adiectaque  
 ex Germania legio cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohor-  
 5 tium. retentusque omnis exercitus sub pellibus, quamvis  
 hieme saeva adeo, ut obducta glacie nisi effossa humus  
 6 tentoriis locum non praeberet. ambusti multorum artus vi  
 frigoris et quidam inter excubias exanimati sunt. adnota-  
 tusque miles, qui fascem lignorum gestabat, ita praeriguisse  
 manus, ut oneri adhaerentes truncis brachiis deciderent.  
 7 ipse cultu levi, capite incto, in agmine, in laboribus fre-  
 quens adesse, laudem strenuis, solacium invalidis, exemplum 10  
 8 omnibus ostendere. dehinc quia duritiam caeli militiaeque  
 multi abnuebant deserebantque, remedium severitate quaesitum  
 9 est. nec enim, ut in aliis exercitibus, primum alterumque  
 delictum venia prosequeretur, sed qui signa reliquerat, statim  
 10 capite poenas luebat. idque usu salubre et misericordia 15  
 melius apparuit: quippe pauciores illa castra deseruere quam  
 ea in quibus ignoscebatur.

36. Interim Corbulo legionibus intra castra habitis, donec  
 ver adolesceret, dispositisque per idoneos locos cohortibus  
 auxiliariis, ne pugnam priores auderent praedicat: curam 20  
 praesidiorum Paccio Orfito, primi pili honore perfuncto  
 2 mandat. is quamquam incautos barbaros et bene gerendae  
 rei casum offerri scripserat, tenere se munimentis et maiores  
 3 copias opperiri iubetur. sed rupto imperio, postquam paucae  
 e proximis castellis turmae advenerant pugnamque imperitia 25  
 4 poscebant, congressus cum hoste funditur. et damno eius  
 exterius qui subsidium ferre debuerant, sua quisque in  
 5 castra trepida fuga rediere. quod graviter Corbulo accepit  
 increpitumque Paccium et praefectos militesque tendere extra  
 vallum iussit; inque ea contumelia detenti nec nisi precibus 30  
 universi exercitus exsoluti sunt.

37. At Tiridates super proprias clientelas ope Vologesi  
 fratris adiutus, non furtim iam sed palam bello insensare



Armeniam, quosque fidos nobis rebatur, depopulari, et si  
 copiae contra ducerentur, eludere hucque et illuc volitans  
 plura fama quam pugna exterrere. igitur Corbulo quaesito  
 diu proelio frustra habitus et exemplo hostium circumferre  
 5 bellum coactus, dispertit vires, ut legati praefectique diversos  
 locos pariter invaderent; simul regem Antiochum monct  
 proximas sibi praefecturas petere. nam Pharasmanes inter-  
 3 fecto filio Radamisto quasi proditore, quo fidem in nos  
 testaretur, vetus adversus Armenios odium promptius exerce-  
 10 bat. tuncque primum inlecti Moschi, gens ante alias socia  
 Romanis, avia Armeniae incursavit. ita consilia Tiridati in  
 contrarium vertebant, mittebatque oratores qui suo Partho-  
 rumque nomine expostularent, cur datis nuper obsidibus  
 redintegrataque amicitia, quae novis quoque beneficiis locum  
 15 aperiret, vetere Armeniae possessione depelleretur. ideo  
 nondum ipsum Vologesen commotum, quia causa quam vi  
 agere mallent: sin perstaretur in bello, non defore Arsacidis  
 virtutem fortunamque saepius iam clade Romana expertam.  
 ad ea Corbulo, satis comperto Vologesen defectione Hyrcaniae  
 20 attineri, suadet Tiridati precibus Caesarem adgredi: posse  
 illi regnum stabile et res incruentas contingere, si omis-  
 spe longinqua et sera praesentem potioremq; sequeretur.

38. Placitum dehinc, quia commeantibus in vicem nuntiis  
 nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur, conloquio ipsorum  
 25 tempus locumque destinari. mille equitum praesidium Tiri-  
 dates adfore sibi dicebat: quantum Corbuloni cuiusque  
 generis militum adsisseret, non statuere, dum positis loriceis  
 et galeis in faciem pacis veniretur. cuicumque mortalium,  
 nedum veteri et provido duci, barbarae astutiae patuissent:  
 30 ideo artum inde numerum finiri et hinc maiorem offerri, ut  
 dolus pararetur; nam equiti sagittarum usu exercito si detecta  
 corpora obicerentur, nihil profuturam multitudinem. dis-  
 4 simulato tamen intellectu rectius de iis quae in publicum



consulerentur totis exercitibus coram dissertaturos respondit.  
5 locumque delegit, cuius pars altera colles erant clementer  
adsurgentes accipiendis peditum ordinibus, pars in planitiem  
6 porrigebatur ad explicandas equitum turmas. dieque pacto  
prior Corbulo socias cohortes et auxilia regum pro cornibus, 5  
medio sextam legionem constituit, cui accita per noctem aliis  
ex castris tria milia tertianorum permiscuerat, una cum  
7 aquila, quasi eadem legio spectaretur. Tiridates vergente  
iam die procul adstitit, unde videri magis quam audiri posset.  
ita sine congressu dux Romanus abscedere militem sua 10  
quemque in castra iubet.

39. Rex sive fraudem suspectans, quia plura simul in loca  
ibatur, sive ut commeatus nostros Pontico mari et Trapezunte  
2 oppido adventantes interciperet, propere discedit. sed neque  
commeatibus vim facere potuit, quia per montes ducebantur 15  
praesidiis nostris insessos, et Corbulo, ne inritum bellum  
traheretur utque Armenios ad sua defendenda cogeret, ex-  
cindere parat castella, sibique quod validissimum in ea  
praefectura, cognomento Volandum, sumit; minora Cornelio  
Flacco legato et Insteio Capitoni castrorum praefecto mandat. 20  
3 tum circumspectis munimentis et quae expugnationi idonea  
provisis, hortatur milites ut hostem vagum neque paci aut  
proelio paratum, sed perfidiam et ignaviam fuga confitentem  
exuerent sedibus gloriaeque pariter et praedae consulerent.  
4 tum quadripartito exercitu hos in testudinem conglobatos 25  
subruendo vallo inducit, alios scalas moenibus admove-  
5 multos tormentis faces et hastas incutere iubet. libritoribus  
funditoribusque attributus locus, unde eminus glandes tor-  
querent, ne qua pars subsidium laborantibus ferret pari  
6 undique metu. tantus inde ardor certantis exercitus fuit, 30  
ut intra tertiam diei partem nudati propugnatoribus muri,  
obices portarum subversi, capta escensu munimenta om-  
nesque puberes trucidati sint, nullo milite amisso, paucis

admodum vulneratis. et inbelle vulgus sub corona venunda- 7  
tum, reliqua praeda victoribus cessit. pari fortuna legatus  
ac praefectus usi sunt, tribusque una die castellis expugnatis  
cetera terrore et alia sponte incolarum in deditionem venie-  
5 bant. unde orta fiducia caput gentis Artaxata adgrediendi.  
nec tamen proximo itinere ductae legiones, quae si amnem 8  
Araxen, qui moenia adluit, ponte transgrederentur, sub ictum  
dabantur: procul et latioribus vadis transiere.

40. At Tiridates pudore et metu, ne, si concessisset obsi-  
10 dioni, nihil opis in ipso videretur, si prohiberet, inpeditis locis  
seque et equestres copias inligaret, statuit postremo ostendere  
aciem et dato die proelium incipere vel simulatione fugae  
locum fraudi parare. igitur repente agmen Romanum cir- 2  
cumfundit, non ignaro duce nostro, qui viae pariter et pugnae  
15 composuerat exercitum. latere dextro tertia legio, sinistro 3  
sexta incedebat, mediis decumanorum delectis; recepta inter  
ordines impedimenta, et tergum mille equites tuebantur,  
quibus iusserat ut instantibus comminus resisterent, refugos  
non sequerentur. in cornibus pedes sagittarius et cetera 4  
20 manus equitum ibat, productiore [cornu] sinistro per ima  
collium, ut, si hostis intravisset, fronte simul et sinu excipe-  
retur. adsultare ex diverso Tiridates, non usque ad ictum 5  
teli, sed tum minitans, tum specie trepidantis, si laxare ordines  
et diversos consecrari posset. ubi nihil temeritate solutum, 6  
25 nec amplius quam decurio equitum audentius progressus et  
sagittis confixus ceteros ad obsequium exemplo firmaverat,  
propinquis iam tenebris abscessit.

41. Et Corbulo castra in loco metatus, an expeditis legioni-  
bus nocte Artaxata pergeret obsidioque circumdaret agitavit,  
30 concessisse illuc Tiridaten ratus. dein postquam exploratores 2  
attulere longinquum regem iter et Medi an Albani peterentur  
incertum, lucem opperitur, praemissaque levis armatura, quae  
muros interim ambiret oppugnationemque eminus inciperet.

3 sed oppidani portis sponte patefactis se suaque Romanis  
permisere, quod salutem ipsis tulit: Artaxatis ignis inmissus  
deletaque et solo aequata sunt, quia nec teneri *poterant* sine  
valido praesidio ob magnitudinem moenium, nec id nobis  
virium erat, quod firmando praesidio et capessendo bello 5  
divideretur, vel si integra et incustodita relinquerentur, nulla  
4 in eo utilitas aut gloria quod capta essent. adicitur miraculum  
velut numine oblatum: nam cuncta Artaxatis tenus sole  
inlustrata fuere; quod moenibus cingebatur, repente ita atra  
nube coopertum fulguribusque discretum est, ut quasi infen- 10  
5 santibus deis exitio tradi crederetur. ob haec consalutatus  
imperator Nero, et senatus consulto supplicationes habitae,  
statuaeque et arcus et continui consulatus principi,  
utque inter festos referretur dies, quo *patrata* victoria,  
quo nuntiata, quo relatum de ea esset, aliaque in eandem 15  
formam decernuntur, adeo modum egressa, ut C. Cassius de  
ceteris honoribus adsensus, si pro *benignitate* fortunae dis  
grates agerentur, ne totum quidem annum supplicationibus  
sufficere disseuerit, eoque oportere dividi sacros et nego-  
tiosos dies, quis divina *colerent* et humana non impedirent. ✓ 20

42. Variis deinde casibus iactatus et multorum odia  
meritus reus, haud tamen sine invidia Senecae damnatur. is  
fuit P. Suillius, imperitante Claudio terribilis ac venalis et  
mutatione temporum non quantum inimici cuperent demissus  
2 quique se nocentem videri quam supplicem mallet. eius 25  
opprimendi *gratia* repetitum credebatur senatus consultum  
poenaeque Cinciae legis adversum eos qui pretio causas  
3 oravissent. ✓ nec Suillius questu aut exprobratione abstinebat,  
praeter ferociam animi extrema senecta liber et Senecam  
increpans infensum amicis Claudii, sub quo iustissimum 30  
4 exilium pertulisset. simul studiis inertibus et iuvenum in-  
peritiae suetum vivere iis, qui vividam et incorruptam eloquen-  
tiam tuendis civibus exercerent. se quaestorem Germanici,

illum domus eius adulterum fuisse. an gravius aestimandum 5  
sponte litigatoris praemium honestae operae adsequi, quam  
corrumpere cubicula principum feminarum? qua sapientia, 6  
quibus philosophorum praeceptis intra quadriennium regiae  
5 amicitiae ter miliens sestertium paravisset? Romae testa- 7  
menta et orbos velut indagine eius capi, Italiam et provincias  
inmenso faenore hauriri: at sibi labore quaesitam et modicam  
pecuniam esse. crimen, periculum, omnia potius toleraturum 8  
quam veterem ac domi partam dignationem subitae felicitati  
10 submitteret.

43. Nec deerant qui haec isdem verbis aut versa in deterius  
Senecae deferrent. repertique accusatores direptos socios,  
cum Suillius provinciam Asiam regeret, ac publicae pecuniae  
peculatum detulerunt. mox, quia inquisitionem annuam 2  
15 impetraverant, brevius visum urbana crimina incipi, quorum  
obvii testes erant. ii acerbitate accusationis Q. Pomponium 3  
ad necessitatem belli civilis detrusum, Iuliam Drusi filiam  
Sabinamque Poppaeam ad mortem actas et Valerium Asiati-  
cum, Lusium Saturninum, Cornelium Lupum circumventos,  
20 iam equitum Romanorum agmina damnata omnemque  
Claudii saevitiam Suillio objectabant. ille nihil ex his sponte 4  
susceptum, sed principi paruisse defendebat, donec eam  
orationem Caesar cohibuit, compertum sibi referens ex  
commentariis patris sui nullam cuiusquam accusationem ab  
25 eo coactam. tum iussa Messalinae praetendi et labare 5  
defensio: cur enim neminem alium delectum qui saevienti  
impudicae vocem praeberet? puniendos rerum atrocium  
ministros, ubi pretia scelerum adepti scelera ipsa aliis delegent.  
igitur adempta bonorum parte (nam filio et nepti pars conce- 6  
30 debatur eximebanturque etiam quae testamento matris aut  
aviae acceperant) in insulas Baleares pellitur, non in ipso  
discrimine, non post damnationem fractus animo; fereba-  
turque copiosa et molli vita secretum illud toleravisse. filium 7

eius Nerullinum adgressis accusatoribus per invidiam patris et crimina repetundarum, intercessit princeps tamquam satis expleta ultione.

44. Per idem tempus Octavius Sagitta plebei tribunus, Pontiae mulieris nuptae amore vaecors, ingentibus donis 5 adulterium et mox, ut omitteret maritum, emercatur, suum 2 matrimonium promittens ac nuptias eius pactus. sed ubi mulier vacua fuit, nectere moras, adversam patris voluntatem causari repertaque spe ditioris coniugis promissa exuere. 3 Octavius contra modo conqueri, modo minitari, famam per- 10 ditam, pecuniam exhaustam obtestans, denique salutem, quae 4 sola reliqua esset, arbitrio eius permittens. ac postquam spernebatur, noctem unam ad solacium poscit, qua delenitus 5 modum in posterum adhiberet. statuitur nox et Pontia consciae ancillae custodiam cubiculi mandat. ille uno cum 15 6 liberto ferrum veste occultum infert. tum, ut adsolet in amore et ira, iurgia, preces, exprobratio satisfactio et pars tenebrarum libidini seposita; ex qua quasi incensus nihil metuentem ferro transverberat et accurrentem ancillam vulnere 7 absterret cubiculoque prorumpit. postera die manifesta 20 caedes, haud ambiguus percussor; quippe mansitasse una convincebatur, sed libertus suum illud facinus profiteri, se 8 patroni iniurias ultum isse. commoveratque quosdam magnitudine exempli, donec ancilla ex vulnere resecta verum 9 aperuit. postulatusque apud consules a patre interfectae, 25 postquam tribunatu abierat, sententia patrum et lege de sicariis condemnatur.

45. Non minus insignis eo anno inpudicitia magnorum rei publicae malorum initium fecit. erat in civitate Sabina Pop- paea, T. Ollio patre genita, sed nomen avi materni sumpserat, 30 inlustri memoria Poppaei Sabini, consulari et triumphali decore praefulgentis; nam Ollium honoribus nondum functum 2 amicitia Seiani pervertit. huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere praeter

honestum animum. quippe mater eius, aetatis suae feminas pulchritudine supergressa, gloriam pariter et formam dederat; opes claritudini generis sufficebant. sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium: modestiam praefere et lascivia uti. rarus in  
 5 publicum egressus, idque velata parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat. famae numquam pepercit, maritos et 3 adulteros non distinguens; neque adfectui suo aut alieno obnoxia, unde utilitas ostenderetur, illuc libidinem transferebat. igitur agentem eam in matrimonio Rufri Crispini equitis 4  
 10 Romani, ex quo filium genuerat, Otho pellexit iuventa ac luxu et quia flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis habebatur: nec mora quin adulterio matrimonium iungeretur.

46. Otho sive amore incautus laudare formam elegantiamque uxoris apud principem, sive ut accenderet ac, si eadem  
 15 femina poterentur id quoque vinculum potentiam ei adiceret. saepe auditus est consurgens e convivio Caesaris, se quidem 2 ire ad illam, sibi concessam dictitans nobilitatem, pulchritudinem, vota omnium et gaudia feliciū. his atque 3 talibus irritamentis non longa cunctatio interponitur. sed  
 20 accepto aditu Poppaea primum per blandimenta et artes valēscere, imparem cupidini se et forma Neronis captam simulans; mox acri iam principis amore ad superbiam vertens, si ultra unam alteramque noctem attineretur, nuptam esse se dictitans, nec posse matrimonium amittere,  
 25 devinctam Othoni per genus vitae, quod nemo adaequaret: illum animo et cultu magnificum; ibi se summa fortuna 4 digna visere: at Neronem, paelice ancilla et adsuetudine Actes devinctum, nihil e contubernio servili nisi abiectum et sordidum traxisse. deicitur familiaritate sueta, post 5  
 30 congressu et comitatu Otho, et ad postremum, ne in urbe aemulatus ageret, provinciae Lusitaniae praeficitur; ubi usque ad civilia arma non ex priorē infamia sed integre sancteque egit, procax otii et potestatis temperantior.

47. Hactenus Nero flagitiis et sceleribus velamenta quae-  
sivit. suspectabat maxime Cornelium Sullam, socors inge-  
nium eius in contrarium trahens callidumque et simulatorem  
2 interpretando. quem metum Graptus ex libertis Caesaris, usu  
et senecta Tiberio abusque domum principum edoctus tali 5  
mendacio intendit, pons Mulvius in eo tempore celebris  
nocturnis inlecebris erat; ventitabatque illuc Nero, quo  
3 solutius urbem extra lasciviret. igitur regredienti per viam  
Flaminiam compositas insidias fatoque evitatas, quoniam  
diverso itinere Sallustianos in hortos remeaverit, auctoremque 10  
eius doli Sullam ementitur, quia forte redeuntibus ministris  
principis quidam per iuvenilem licentiam, quae tunc passim  
4 exercebatur, inanem metum fecerant. neque servorum quis-  
quam neque clientium Sullae adgnitus, maximeque despecta  
et nullius ausi capax natura eius a crimine abhorrebat: proinde 15  
tamen quasi convictus esset, cedere patria et Massiliensium  
moenibus coerceri iubetur.

48. Isdem consulibus auditae Puteolanorum legationes,  
quas diversas ordo plebs ad senatum miserant, illi vim multi-  
tudinis, hi magistratum et primi cuiusque avaritiam incre- 20  
2 pantes. eaque seditio ad saxa et minas ignium progressa ne  
caedem et arma proliceret, C. Cassius adhibendo remedio  
3 delectus. quia severitatem eius non tolerabant, precante ipso  
ad Scribonios fratres ea cura transfertur, data cohorte  
praetoria, cuius terrore et paucorum supplicio rediit oppi- 25  
danis concordia.

49. Non referrem vulgarissimum senatus consultum, quo  
civitati Syracusanorum egredi numerum edendis gladiatoribus  
finitum permittebatur, nisi Paetus Thrasea contra dixisset  
praebuissetque materiem obrectatoribus arguendae senten- 30  
2 tiae. cur enim, si rem publicam egere libertate senatoria  
crederet, tam levia consecraretur? quin de bello aut pace, de  
vectigalibus et legibus, quibusque aliis res Romana contine-



retur, suaderet dissuaderetve? licere patribus, quotiens ius  
dicendae sententiae acceperant, quae vellent expromere  
relationemque in ea postulare. an solum emendatione 3  
dignum, ne Syracusis spectacula largius ederentur: cetera  
5 per omnes imperii partes perinde egregia, quam si non  
Nero sed Thrasea regimen eorum teneret? quod si summa 4  
dissimulatione transmitterentur, quanto magis inanibus absti-  
nendum? Thrasea contra, rationem poscentibus amicis, non 5  
praesentium ignarum respondebat eius modi consulta corri-  
gere, sed patrum honori dare, ut manifestum fieret magnarum  
rerum curam non dissimulaturos, qui animum etiam levissimis  
adverterent.

✓ 50. Eodem anno crebris populi flagitationibus, inmodestiam  
publicanorum arguentis, dubitavit Nero, an cuncta vectigalia  
15 omitti iuberet idque pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium  
daret. sed impetum eius, multum prius laudata magnitudine 2  
animi, attinuerunt senatores, dissolutionem imperii docendo, si  
fructus quibus res publica sustineretur deminuerentur: quippe  
sublatis portoribus sequens ut tributorum abolitio expostularetur.  
20 plerasque vectigalium societates a consulibus et tribunis plebei 3  
constitutas acri etiam tum populi Romani libertate; reliqua  
mox ita provisa, ut ratio quaestuum et necessitas erogationum }  
inter se congrueret. temperandas plane publicanorum cupi- 4  
dines, ne per tot annos sine querella tolerata novis acerbitati-  
25 bus ad invidiam verterent.

51. Ergo edixit princeps, ut leges cuiusque publici, occultae  
ad id tempus, proscriberentur; omissas petitiones non ultra  
annum resumerent; Romae praetor, per provincias qui pro  
praetore aut consule essent iura adversus publicanos extra or-  
30 dinem redderent; militibus immunitas servaretur, nisi in iis  
quae veno exercerent; aliaque admodum aequa, quae brevi  
servata, dein frustra habita sunt. manet tamen abolitio 2  
quadragensimae quinquagensimaeque et qua alia exactionibus



3 illicitis nomina publicani invenerant. temperata apud trans-  
marinas provincias frumenti subvectio, et ne censibus ne-  
gotiatorum naves adscriberentur tributumque pro illis pen-  
derent, constitutum.

52. Reos ex provincia Africa, qui proconsulare imperium 5  
illic habuerant, Sulpicium Camerinum et Pompeium Silvanum  
absolvit Caesar, Camerinum adversus privatos et paucos,  
saevitiae magis quam captarum pecuniarum crimina obicientes.  
2 Silvanum magna vis accusatorum circumsteterat poscebatque  
tempus evocandorum testium: reus ilico defendi postulabat. 10  
3 valuitque pecuniosa orbitate et senecta, quam ultra vitam  
eorum produxit, quorum ambitu evaserat. ✓

53. Quietae ad id tempus res in Germania fuerant, ingenio  
ducum, qui pervulgatis triumphi insignibus maius ex eo decus  
2 sperabant, si pacem continuavissent. Paulinus Pompeius et 15  
3 L. Vetus ea tempestate exercitui praeerant. ne tamen segnem  
militem attinerent, ille inchoatum ante tres et sexaginta annos  
a Druso aggerem coercendo Rheno absolvit, Vetus Mosellam  
atque *Ararim* facta inter utrumque fossa conectere parabat,  
ut copiae per mare, dein Rhodano et Arare subvectae per 20  
eam fossam, mox fluvio Mosella in Rhenum, exim Oceanum  
decurrerent, sublatisque itineris difficultatibus navigabilia inter  
4 se Occidentis Septentrionisque litora fierent. invidit operi  
Aelius Gracilis Belgicae legatus, deterrendo Veterem ne ✓  
legiones alienae provinciae inferret studiaque Galliarum 25  
adfectaret, formidolosum id imperatori dictitans, quo plerum-  
que prohibentur conatus honesti. ✓

54. Ceterum continuo exercituum otio fama incessit  
2 ereptum ius legatis ducendi in hostem. eoque Frisii  
iuventutem saltibus aut paludibus, inbellem aetatem per lacus 30  
admove re ripae agrosque vacuos et militum usui sepositos  
insedere, auctore Verrito et Malorige, qui nationem eam  
3 regebant, in quantum Germani regnantur. iamque fixerant

domos, semina arvis intulerant utque patrum solum exercebant, cum Dubius Avitus, accepta a Paulino provincia, minitendo vim Romanam, nisi abscederent Frisii veteres in locos aut novam sedem a Caesare inpetrarent, perpulit Verritum et  
5 Malorigem preces suscipere. profectique Romam dum aliis 4  
curis intentum Neronem opperiantur, inter ea quae barbaris ostentantur intravere Pompei theatrum, quo magnitudinem populi viserent. illic per otium (neque enim ludicris ignari 5  
oblectabantur) dum consessum caveae, discrimina ordinum,  
10 quis eques, ubi senatus percontantur, advertere quosdam cultu externo in sedibus senatorum; et quinam forent rogantes, postquam audiverant earum gentium legatis id honoris datum, quae virtute et amicitia Romana praeccellerent, nullos mortalium armis aut fide ante Germanos esse exclamant  
15 degrediunturque et inter patres considunt. quod comiter 6  
a visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui et bona aemulatio. Nero civitate Romana ambos donavit, Frisios decedere agris iussit. atque illis aspernantibus auxiliaris 7  
eques repente immissus necessitatem attulit, captis caesisve  
20 qui pervicacius restiterant.

55. Eosdem agros Ampsivarii occupavere, validior gens non modo sua copia, sed adiacentium populorum miseratione, quia pulsi a Chaucis et sedis inopes tutum exilium orabant. aderatque iis clarus per illas gentes et nobis 2  
25 quoque fidus, nomine Boiocalus, vinctum se rebellione Cherusca iussu Arminii referens, mox Tiberio, Germanico ducibus stipendia meruisse, et quinquaginta annorum obsequio id quoque adiungere, quod gentem suam 'dicioni nostrae subiceret. quo tantam partem campi iacere, in 3  
30 quam pecora et armenta militum aliquando transmitterentur? servarent sane receptus gregibus inter hominum famem, 4  
modo ne vastitatem et solitudinem mallent quam amicos populos. Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum 5

et post Usiporum fuisse. sicuti caelum deis, ita terras generi  
6 mortalium datas; quaeque vacuae, eas publicas esse. solem  
inde suspiciens et cetera sidera vocans quasi coram inter-  
rogabat, vellentne contueri inane solum: potius mare  
superfunderent adversus terrarum ereptores. 5

56. Et commotus his Avitus: patienda meliorum imperia;  
id dis quos implorarent placitum, ut arbitrium penes Romanos  
maneret, quid darent quid adimerent, neque alios iudices  
2 quam se ipsos paterentur. haec in publicum Ampsivariis  
respondit, ipsi Boiocalo ob memoriam amicitiae daturum 10  
3 agros. quod ille ut prodicionis pretium aspernatus addidit  
'desse nobis terra in vitam, in qua moriamur, non potest.'  
4 atque ita infensis utrimque animis discessum. illi Bructeros,  
Tencteros, ultiores etiam nationes socias bello vocabant:  
Avitus. scripto ad Curtilium Manciam superioris exercitus 15  
legatum, ut Rhenum transgressus arma a tergo ostenderet,  
ipse legiones in agrum Tencterum induxit, excidium minitans,  
5 ni causam suam dissociarent. igitur absistentibus his pari  
metu exterriti Bructeri; et ceteris quoque aliena pericula  
deserentibus sola Ampsivariorum gens retro ad Usipos et 20  
6 Tubantes concessit. quorum terris exacti cum Chattos,  
dein Cheruscos petissent, errore longo hospites, egeni, hostes,  
in alieno quod iuventutis erat caeduntur, inbellis aetas in  
praedam divisa est.

57. Eadem aestate inter Hermunduros Chattosque cer- 25  
tatum magno proelio, dum flumen gignendo sale fecundum  
et conterminum vi trahunt, super libidinem cuncta armis  
agendi religione insita, eos maxime locos propinquare caelo  
2 precesque mortalium a deis nusquam propius audiri. inde  
indulgentia numinum illo in amne illisque silvis salem 30  
provenire, non ut alias apud gentes eluvie maris arescente  
unda, sed super ardentem arborum struem fusa ex contrariis  
3 inter se elementis, igne atque aquis, concretum. sed bellum

Hermunduris prosperum, Chattis exitiosius fuit, quia victores  
 diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacravere, quo voto equi  
 viri, cuncta viva occidioni dantur. et minae quidem hostiles 4  
 in ipsos vertebant. sed civitas Ubiorum socia nobis malo  
 5 inproviso adflicta est. nam ignes terra editi villas arva 5  
 vicos passim corripiebant ferebanturque in ipsa conditae  
 nuper coloniae moenia. neque extinguere poterant, non si 6  
 imbres caderent, non fluvialibus aquis aut quo alio humore,  
 donec inopia remediorum et ira cladis agrestes quidam  
 10 eminus saxa iacere, dein resistentibus flammis propius  
 suggressi ictu fustium aliisque verberibus ut feras abster-  
 rebant: postremo tegmina corpori derepta iniciunt, quanto 7  
 magis profana et usu polluta, tanto magis oppressura ignes.

58. Eodem anno Ruminalem arborem in comitio, quae  
 15 octingentos et triginta ante annos Remi Romulique infantiam  
 texerat, mortuis ramalibus et arescente trunco deminutam  
 prodigii loco habitum est, donec in novos fetus revivesceret.

## LIBER XIV.

1. GAIUS VIBIANUS C. FONTEIUS consulibus diu meditatū  
scelus non ultra Nero distulit, vetustate imperii coalita  
audacia et flagrantior in dies amore Poppaeae, quae sibi  
matrimonium et discidium Octaviae incolumi Agrippina  
haud sperans, crebris criminationibus, aliquando per facetias 5  
incusaret principem et pupillum vocaret, qui iussis alienis  
obnoxius non modo imperii sed libertatis etiam indigeret.  
2 cur enim differri nuptias suas? formam scilicet displicere  
et triumphales avos, an fecunditatem et verum animum?  
3 timeri ne uxor saltem iniurias patrum, iram populi adversus 10  
4 superbiam avaritiamque matris aperiat. quod si nurum  
Agrippina non nisi filio infestam ferre posset, redderetur ipsa

Othonis coniugio : ituram quoquo terrarum, ubi audiret potius contumelias imperatoris quam viseret periculis eius inmixta. haec atque talia lacrimis et arte adulterae penetrantia 5 nemo prohibebat, cupientibus cunctis infringi potentiam 5 matris et credente nullo usque ad caedem eius duratura filii odia.

3. Igitur Nero vitare secretos eius congressus, abscedentem in hortos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum laudare, quod otium capesseret. postremo, ubicumque haberetur, 2  
10 praegravem ratus interficere constituit, hactenus consultans, veneno an ferro vel qua alia vi. placuitque primo venenum. 3 sed inter epulas principis si daretur, referri ad casum non poterat tali iam Britannici exitio; et ministros temptare arduum videbatur mulieris usu scelerum adversus insidias  
15 intentae; atque ipsa praesumendo remedia munierat corpus. ferrum et caedes quonam modo occultaretur, nemo reperiebat; 4 et ne quis illi tanto facinori delectus iussa sperneret metuebant. obtulit ingenium Anicetus libertus, classi apud 5 Misenum praefectus et pueritiae Neronis educator ac mutuis  
20 odiis Agrippinae invisus. ergo navem posse componi docet, 6 cuius pars ipso in mari per artem soluta effunderet ignaram: nihil tam capax fortuitorum quam mare; et si naufragio 7 intercepta sit, quem adeo iniquum, ut sceleri adsignet quod venti et fluctus deliquerint? additurum principem defunctae  
25 templum et aras et cetera ostentandae pietati.

4. Placuit sollertia, tempore etiam iuta, quando Quinquatrum festos dies apud Baias frequentabat. illuc matrem 2 elicit, ferendas parentium iracundias et placandum animum dictitans, quo rumorem reconciliationis efficeret acciperetque  
30 Agrippina, facili feminarum credulitate ad gaudia. venientem 3 dehinc obvius in litora (nam Antio adventabat) excepit manu et complexu ducitque Baulos. id villae nomen est quae 4 promunturium Misenum inter et Baianum lacum flexo mari

5 adluitur. stabat inter alias navis ornatioꝛ, tamquam id  
quoque honori matris daretur: quippe sueverat triremi et  
6 classiariorum remigio vehi. ac tum invitata ad epulas erat,  
ut occultando facinori nox adhiberetur. satis constitit  
extitisse proditorem, et Agrippinam auditis insidiis, an 5  
7 crederet ambiguam, gestamine sellae Baias pervectam. ibi  
blandimentum sublevavit metum: comiter excepta superque  
8 ipsum collocata. iam pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate  
iuвени Nero et rursus adductus, quasi seria consociaret,  
tracto in longum convictu, prosequitur abeuntem, artius oculis 10  
et pectori haerens, sive explenda simulatione, seu periturae  
matris supremus aspectus quamvis ferum animum retinebat.

5. Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam  
2 quasi convincendum ad scelus di praebuere. nec multum  
erat progressa navis, duobus e numero familiarium Agrip- 15  
pinam comitantibus, ex quis Crepereius Gallus haud procul  
gubernaculis adstabat, Acerronia super pedes cubitantis  
reclinis paenitentiam filii et reciperatam matris gratiam  
per gaudium memorabat, cum dato signo ruere tectum  
loci multo plumbo grave, pressusque Crepereius et statim 20  
3 exanimatus est. Agrippina et Acerronia eminentibus lecti  
parietibus ac forte validioribus, quam ut oneri cederent,  
4 protectae sunt. nec dissolutio navigii sequebatur, turbatis  
omnibus et quod plerique ignari etiam conscios impediabant.  
5 visum dehinc remigibus unum in latus inclinare atque ita 25  
navem submergere: sed neque ipsis promptus in rem  
subitam consensus, et alii contra nitentes dedere facultatem  
6 lenioris in mare iactus. verum Acerronia, imprudentia dum  
se Agrippinam esse utque subveniretur matri principis  
clamitat, contis et remis et quae fors obtulerat navalibus 30  
7 telis conficitur: Agrippina silens eoque minus adgnita  
(unum tamen vulnus umero excepit) nando, deinde occursum  
lenunculorum Lucrinum in lacum vecta villae suae infertur.

6. Illic reputans ideo se fallacibus litteris accitam et honore  
 praecipuo habitam, quodque litus iuxta, non ventis acta, non  
 saxis impulsa navis summa sui parte veluti terrestre machina-  
 mentum concidisset, observans etiam Acerroniae necem,  
 5 simul suum vulnus aspiciens, solum insidiarum remedium  
 esse *sensit*, si non intellegerentur; misitque libertum  
 Agerinum, qui nuntiaret filio benignitate deum et fortuna  
 eius evasisse gravem casum; orare ut quamvis periculo  
 matris exterritus visendi curam differret; sibi ad praesens  
 10 quiete opus. atque interim securitate simulata medicamina 2  
 vulneri et fomenta corpori adhibet; testamentum Acerroniae  
 requiri bonaque obsignari iubet, id tantum non per simula-  
 tionem.

7. At Neroni nuntios patrati facinoris opperienti adfertur  
 15 evasisse ictu levi sauciam et hactenus adito discrimine, ne  
 auctor dubitaretur. tum pavore exanimis et iam iamque 2  
 adfore obtestans vindictae properam, sive servitia armaret  
 vel militem accenderet, sive ad senatum et populum  
 pervaderet, naufragium et vulnus et interfectos amicos  
 20 obiciendo, quod contra subsidium sibi? nisi quid Burrus  
 et Seneca; quos expergens statim acciverat incertum an et  
 ante gnaros. igitur longum utriusque silentium, ne inriti 3  
 dissuaderent, an eo descensum credebant, *ut*, nisi prae-  
 veniretur Agrippina, pereundum Neroni esset. post Seneca 4  
 25 hactenus promptius, *ut* respiceret Burrum ac sciscitaretur,  
 an militi imperanda caedes esset. ille praetorianos toti 5  
 Caesarum domui obstrictos memoresque Germanici nihil  
 adversus progeniem eius atrox ausuros respondit: perpetraret  
 Anicetus promissa. qui nihil cunctatus poscit summam  
 30 sceleris. ad eam vocem Nero illo sibi die dari imperium 6  
 auctoremque tanti muneris libertum profitetur: iret propere  
 duceretque promptissimos ad iussa. ipse audito venisse 7  
 missu Agrippinae nuntium Agerinum, scaenam ultro criminis



parat, gladiumque, dum mandata perfert, abicit inter pedes eius, tum quasi deprehenso vincla inici iubet, ut exitium principis molitam matrem et pudore deprehensi sceleris sponte mortem sumpsisse confingeret.

8. Interim vulgato Agrippinae periculo quasi casu even- 5  
2 isset, ut quisque acceperat, decurrere ad litus. hi molium obiectus, hi proximas scaphas scandere; alii, quantum corpus sinebat, vadere in mare; quidam manus protendere; questibus, votis, clamore diversa rogitantium aut incerta respondentium omnis ora compleri; adfluere ingens multitudo 10  
cum luminibus, atque ubi incolumem esse pernotuit, ut ad gratandum sese expedire, donec aspectu armati et minitantis  
3 agminis disiecti sunt. Anicetus villam statione circumdat refractaque ianua obvios servorum abripit, donec ad fores cubiculi veniret; cui pauci adstabant, ceteris terrore inrum- 15  
4 pentium exterritis. cubiculo modicum lumen inerat et ancillarum una; magis ac magis anxia Agrippina, quod nemo a filio ac ne Agerinus quidem: aliam fore laetae rei faciem; nunc solitudinem ac repentinos strepitus et extremi mali  
5 indicia. abeunte dehinc ancilla 'tu quoque me deseris' 20  
prolocuta respicit Anicetum, trierarcho Herculeio et Obarito centurione classario comitatum: ac, si ad visendum venisset, refotam nuntiaret, sin facinus patraturus, nihil se de filio  
6 credere; non imperatum parricidium. circumsistunt lectum percussores et prior trierarchus fusti caput eius adffixit. 25  
iam in mortem centurioni ferrum destringenti protendens uterum 'ventrem feri' exclamavit multisque vulneribus confecta est.

9. Haec consensu produntur. aspexeritne matrem exanimem Nero et formam corporis eius laudaverit, sunt qui 30  
2 tradiderint, sunt qui abnuant. cremata est nocte eadem convivali lecto et exsequiis vilibus; neque, dum Nero rerum  
3 potiebatur, congesta aut clausa humus. mox domesticorum

cura levem tumultum accepit, viam Miseni propter et villam  
 Caesaris dictatoris, quae subiectos sinus editissima prospectat.  
 accenso rogo libertus eius cognomento Mnester *se* ipse 4  
 ferro transegit, incertum caritate in patronam an metu exitii.  
 5 hunc sui finem multos ante annos crediderat Agrippina 5  
 contempseratque. nam consulenti super Nerone responderunt  
 Chaldaei fore ut imperaret matremque occideret; atque illa  
 ‘occidat’ inquit, ‘dum imperet.’

10. Sed a Caesare perfecto demum scelere magnitudo  
 10 eius intellecta est. reliquo noctis modo per silentium defixus,  
 saepius pavore exurgens et mentis inops lucem opperiebatur  
 tamquam exitium adlaturam. atque eum auctore Burro 2  
 prima centurionum tribunorumque adulatio ad spem firmavit,  
 prensantium manum gratantiumque quod discrimen inpro-  
 15 visum et matris facinus evasisset. amici dehinc adire templa, 3  
 et coepto exemplo proxima Campaniae municipia victimis  
 et legationibus laetitiam testari: ipse diversa simulatione 4  
 maestus et quasi incolumitati suae infensus ac morti parentis  
 inlacrimans. quia tamen non, ut hominum vultus, ita 5  
 20 locorum facies mutantur, observabaturque maris illius et  
 litorum gravis aspectus (et erant qui crederent sonitum tubae  
 collibus circum editis planctusque tumulo matris audiri),  
 Neapolim concessit litterasque ad senatum misit, quarum  
 summa erat repertum cum ferro percussorem Agerinum,  
 25 ex intimis Agrippinae libertis, et luisse eam poenas con-  
 scientia, quasi scelus paravisset.

11. Adiciebat crimina longius repetita, quod consortium  
 imperii iuraturasque in feminae verba praetorias cohortes  
 idemque dedecus senatus et populi speravisset, ac postquam  
 30 frustra habita sit, infensa militi patribusque et plebi dissua-  
 sisset donativum et congiarium periculaque viris inlustribus  
 struxisset. quanto suo labore perpetratum, ne inrumperet 2  
 curiam, ne gentibus externis responsa daret. temporum

quoque Claudianorum obliqua insectatione cuncta eius dominationis flagitia in matrem transtulit, publica fortuna  
3 extinctam referens. namque et naufragium narrabat: quod fortuitum fuisse, quis adeo hebes inveniretur ut crederet? aut a muliere naufraga missum cum telo unum, qui cohortes  
4 et classes imperatoris perfringeret? ergo non iam Nero, cuius inmanitas omnium questus anteibat, sed Seneca adverso rumore erat, quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset.

12. Miro tamen certamine procerum decernuntur supplicationes apud omnia pulvinaria, utque Quinquatrus, quibus 10 apertae insidiae essent, ludis annuis celebrarentur; aureum Minervae simulacrum in curia et iuxta principis imago statuerentur; dies natalis Agrippinae inter nefastos esset.  
2 Thrasea Paetus silentio vel brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus exiit tum senatu, ac sibi causam periculi 15  
3 fecit, ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit. prodigia quoque crebra et inrita intercessere. anguem enixa mulier, et alia in concubitu mariti fulmine exanimata: iam sol repente obscuratus et tactae de caelo quattuordecim urbis regiones.  
4 quae adeo sine cura deum eveniebant, ut multos post annos 20  
5 Nero imperium et scelera continuaverit. ceterum quo gravaret invidiam matris eaque demota auctam lenitatem suam testificaretur, feminas inlustres Iuniam et Calpurniam, praetura functos Valerium Capitonem et Licinium Gabolum  
6 sedibus patriis reddidit, ab Agrippina olim pulsos. etiam 25  
Lolliae Paulinae cineres reportari sepulcrumque exstrui permisit; quosque ipse nuper relegaverat, Iturium et Cal-  
7 visium poena exsolvit. nam Silana fato functa erat, longinquo ab exilio Tarentum regressa labante iam Agrippina, cuius inimicitiis conciderat, vel mitigata. 30

13. Tamen cunctari in oppidis Campaniae, quonam modo urbem ingrederetur, an obsequium senatus, an studia plebis reperiret anxius: contra deterrimus quisque, quorum non

alia regia fecundior extitit, invisum Agrippinae nomen et  
 morte eius accensum populi favorem disseverunt: iret in-  
 trepidus et venerationem sui coram experiretur; simul  
 praegredi exposcunt. et promptiora quam promiserant 2  
 5 inveniunt, obvias tribus, festo cultu senatum, coniugum ac  
 liberorum agmina per sexum et aetatem disposita, exstructos,  
 qua incederet, spectaculorum gradus, quo modo triumphi  
 visuntur. hinc superbus ac publici servitii victor Capitolium 3  
 adiit, grates exsolvit, seque in omnes libidines effudit, quas  
 10 male coercitas qualiscumque matris reverentia tardaverat.

14. Vetus illi cupido erat curriculo quadrigarum insistere,  
 nec minus foedum studium cithara ludicrum in modum  
 canere. concertare equis regium et antiquis ducibus facti-  
 tatum memorabat, idque vatium laudibus celebre et deorum  
 15 honori datum. enimvero cantus Apollini sacros, talique 2  
 ornatu adstare non modo Graecis in urbibus sed Romana  
 apud templa numen praecipuum et praescium. nec iam sisti 3  
 poterat, cum Senecae ac Burro visum, ne utraque pervinceret,  
 alterum concedere. clausumque valle Vaticana spatium, in 4  
 20 quo equos regeret, haud promisco spectaculo. mox ultro  
 vocari populus Romanus laudibusque extollere, ut est vulgus  
 cupiens voluptatum et, si eodem princeps trahat, laetum.  
 ceterum evulgatus pudor non satietatem, ut rebantur, sed 5  
 incitamentum attulit. ratusque dedecus molliri, si plures  
 25 foedasset, nobilium familiarum posteros egestate venales in  
 scaenam deduxit; quos fato perfunctos ne nominatim tradam,  
 maioribus eorum tribuendum puto. nam et eius flagitium est,  
 qui pecuniam ob delicta potius dedit quam ne delinquerent.  
 notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenae promittere 6  
 30 subegit donis ingentibus, nisi quod merces ab eo, qui iubere  
 potest, vim necessitatis adfert.

15. Ne tamen adhuc publico theatro dehonestaretur, in-  
 stituit ludos Iuvenalium vocabulo, in quos passim nomina

2 data. non nobilitas cuiquam, non aetas aut acti honores  
impedimento, quo minus Graeci Latine histrionis artem  
3 exercerent usque ad gestus modosque haud viriles. quin  
et feminae inlustres deformia meditari; exstructaque apud  
nemus, quod navali stagno circumposuit Augustus, con- 5  
venticula et cauponae et posita veno inritamenta luxui.  
dabanturque stipes, quas boni necessitate, intemperantes  
4 gloria consumerent. inde gliscere flagitia et infamia, nec  
ulla moribus olim corruptis plus libidinum circumdedit quam  
5 illa conluries. vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum 10  
inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia aut modestia aut quicquam  
6 probi moris reservaretur. postremum ipse scaenam incedit,  
multa cura temptans citharam et praemeditans adistentibus  
7 phonascis. accesserat cohors militum, centuriones tribunique  
8 et maerens Burrus ac laudans. tuncque primum conscripti 15  
sunt equites Romani cognomento Augustianorum, aetate ac  
robore conspicui, et pars ingenio procaces, alii in spem  
9 potentiae. ii dies ac noctes plausibus personare formam  
principis vocemque deum vocabulis appellantes; quasi per  
virtutem clari honoratique agere. 20

16. Ne tamen ludicrae tantum imperatoris artes notes-  
cerent carminum quoque studium adfectavit, contractis quibus  
2 aliqua pangendi facultas necdum insignis erat. hi cenati  
considerare simul, et adlatos vel ibidem repertos versus  
conectere atque ipsius verba quoquo modo prolata supplere, 25  
quod species ipsa carminum docet, non impetu et instinctu  
3 nec ore uno fluens. etiam sapientiae doctoribus tempus  
impertiebat post epulas, utque contraria adseverantium  
discordia frueretur. nec deerant qui ore vultuque tristi inter  
oblectamenta regia spectari cuperent. 30

17. Sub idem tempus levi initio atrox caedes orta inter  
colonos Nucerinos Pompeianosque gladiatorio spectaculo,  
quod Livineius Regulus, quem motum senatu rettuli, edebat.

quippe oppidana lascivia invicem incessentes probra, dein 2  
saxa, postremo ferrum sumpsere, validiore Pompeianorum  
plebe, apud quos spectaculum edebatur. ergo deportati sunt 3  
in urbem multi e Nucerinis trunco per vulnera corpore, ac  
5 plerique liberorum aut parentum mortes deflebant. cuius rei  
iudicium princeps senatui, senatus consulibus permisit. et 4  
rursus re ad patres relata, prohibiti publice in decem annos  
eius modi coetu Pompeiani collegiaque, quae contra leges  
instituerant, dissoluta; Livineius et qui alii seditionem con-  
10 civerant exilio multati sunt.

18. Motus senatu et Pedius Blaesus, accusantibus Cyren-  
sibus violatum ab eo thesaurum Aesculapii dilectumque  
militarem pretio et ambitione corruptum. idem Cyrenenses 2  
reum agebant Acilium Strabonem, praetoria potestate usum  
15 et missum disceptatorem a Claudio agrorum, quos regis  
Apionis quondam avitos et populo Romano cum regno  
relictos proximus quisque possessor invaserant, diutinaque  
licentia et iniuria quasi iure et aequo nitebantur. igitur 3  
abiudicatis agris orta adversus iudicem invidia; et senatus  
20 ignota sibi esse mandata Claudii et consulendum principem  
respondit. Nero probata Strabonis sententia, se nihilo minus 4  
subvenire sociis et usurpata concedere rescripsit.

19. Sequuntur virorum inlustrium mortes, Domitii Afri  
et M. Servilii, qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia  
25 vigerant, ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis  
rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae, quam clariorem  
effecit, ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus.

20. Nerone quartum Cornelio Cosso consulibus quin-  
quennale ludicrum Romae institutum est ad morem Graeci  
30 certaminis, varia fama, ut cuncta ferme nova. quippe erant 2  
qui Gnaeum quoque Pompeium incusatum a senioribus  
ferrent, quod mansuram theatri sedem posuisset. nam antea 3  
subitariis gradibus et scaena in tempus structa ludos edi

solitos, vel si vetustiora repetas, stantem populum spectavisse, ne, si consideret theatro, dies totos ignavia continuaret. 4 spectaculorum quidem antiquitas servaretur, quotiens praetores ederent, nulla cuiquam civium necessitate certandi. 5 ceterum abolitos paulatim patrios mores funditus everti per 5 accitam lasciviam, ut quod usquam corrumpi et corrumpere queat, in urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis externis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercendo, principe et senatu auctoribus, qui non modo licentiam vitiis permiserint, sed vim adhibeant, *ut* proceres Romani specie orationum et 10 6 carminum scaena polluantur. quid superesse, nisi ut corpora quoque nudent et caestus adsumant easque pugnas pro 7 militia et armis meditentur? an iustitiam auctum iri et decurias equitum egregium iudicandi munus *melius* expleturas, si fractos sonos et dulcedinem vocum perite audissent? 15 8 noctes quoque dedecori adiectas, ne quod tempus pudori relinquatur, sed coetu promisco, quod perditissimus quisque per diem concupiverit, per tenebras audeat.

21. Pluribus ipsa licentia placebat, ac tamen honesta 2 nomina praetendebant. maiores quoque non abhorruisse 20 spectaculorum oblectamentis pro fortuna quae tum erat, eoque a Tuscis accitos histriones, a Thuriis equorum certamina; et possessa Achaia Asiaque ludos curatius editos, nec quemquam Romae honesto loco ortum ad theatrales artes degeneravisse, ducentis iam annis a L. Mummii 25 triumpho, qui primus id genus spectaculi in urbe praebuerit. 3 sed et consultum parsimoniae, quod perpetua sedes theatro locata sit potius, quam immenso sumptu singulos per annos 4 consurgeret ac destrueretur. nec perinde magistratus rem familiarem exhausturos aut populo efflagitandi Graeca cer- 30 tamina a magistratibus causam fore, cum eo sumptu res 5 publica fungatur. oratorum ac vatum victorias incitamentum ingeniis adlaturas; nec cuiquam iudici grave aures studiis

honestis et voluptatibus concessis impertire. laetitiae magis 6  
 quam lasciviae dari paucas totius quinquennii noctes, quibus  
 tanta luce ignium nihil illicitum occultari queat. sane nullo 7  
 insigni dehonestamento id spectaculum transiit. ac ne  
 15 modica quidem studia plebis exarsere, quia redditus quam-  
 quam scaenae pantomimi certaminibus sacris prohibebantur.  
 eloquentiae primas nemo tulit, sed victorem esse Caesarem 8  
 pronuntiatum. Graeci amictus, quis per eos dies plerique  
 incesserant, tum exoleverunt.

10 22. Inter quae et sidus cometes effulsit, de quo vulgi  
 opinio est, tamquam mutationem regis portendat. igitur  
 quasi iam depulso Nerone, quisnam deligeretur anquirebant.  
 et omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per 2  
 matrem ex Iulia familia. ipse placita maiorum colebat, 3  
 15 habitu severo, casta et secreta domo, quantoque metu  
 occultior, tanto plus famae adeptus. auxit rumorem pari 4  
 vanitate orta interpretatio fulguris. nam quia discumbentis  
 Neronis apud Simbruina stagna *in villa*, cui Sublaqueum  
 nomen est, ictae dapes mensaque disiecta erat, idque finibus  
 20 Tiburtum acciderat, unde paterna Plauto origo, hunc illum  
 numine deum destinari credebant, fovebantque multi, quibus  
 nova et ancipitia praecolere avida et plerumque fallax  
 ambitio est. ergo permotus his Nero componit ad Plautum 5  
 litteras, consuleret quieti urbis seque prava diffamantibus  
 25 subtraheret: esse illi per Asiam avitos agros, in quibus tuta  
 et inturbida iuventa frueretur. ita illuc cum coniuge Antistia  
 et paucis familiarium concessit.

Isdem diebus nimia luxus cupido infamiam et periculum 6  
 Neroni tulit, quia fontem aquae Marciae ad urbem deductae  
 30 nando incesserat; videbaturque potus sacros et caerimoniam  
 loci corpore loto polluisse. secutaque anceps valetudo iram  
 deum adfirmavit.

23. At Corbulo post deleta Artaxata utendum recenti



terrore ratus ad occupanda Tigranocerta, quibus excisis metum hostium intenderet vel, si pepercisset, clementiae famam adipisceretur, illuc pergit, non infenso exercitu, ne spem veniae auferret, neque tamen remissa cura, gnarus facilem mutatu gentem, ut segnem ad pericula, ita infidam 5  
2 ad occasiones. barbari, pro ingenio quisque, alii preces offerre, quidam deserere vicos et in avia digredi; ac fuere 3  
3 qui se speluncis et carissima secum abderent. igitur dux Romanus diversis artibus, misericordia adversus supplices, celeritate adversus profugos, inmitis iis qui latebras insederant, 10  
ora et exitus specuum sarmentis virgultisque completos igni 4  
4 exurit. atque illum fines suos praegredientem incursavere Mardi, latrocinii exerciti contraque inrumpentem montibus defensi; quos Corbulo inmissis Hiberis vastavit hostilem-  
que audaciam externo sanguine ultus est. 15

24. Ipse exercitusque ut nullis ex proelio damnis, ita per inopiam et labores fatiscebant, carne pecudum propulsare 2  
2 famem adacti. ad hoc penuria aquae, fervida aestas, longinqua itinera sola ducis patientia mitigabantur, eadem 3  
3 pluraque gregario milite tolerantis. ventum dehinc in locos 20  
cultos demessaeque segetes, et ex duobus castellis, in quae confugerant Armenii, alterum impetu captum; qui primam 4  
4 vim depulerant, obsidione coguntur. unde in regionem Tauraunitium transgressus inprovisum periculum vitavit. 5  
5 nam haud procul tentorio eius non ignobilis barbarus cum 25  
telo repertus ordinem insidiarum seque auctorem et socios per tormenta edidit, convictique et puniti sunt qui specie 6  
6 amicitiae dolum parabant. nec multo post legati Tigranocerta missi patere moenia adferunt, intentos popularis ad iussa: simul hospitale donum, coronam auream, tradebant. 30  
7 accepitque cum honore, nec quicquam urbi detractum, quo promptius obsequium integri retinerent.

25. At praesidium Legerda, quod ferox iuventus clauserat,

non sine certamine expugnatum est: nam et proelium pro muris ausi erant et pulsi intra munimenta aggeri demum et inrumpentium armis cessere. quae facilius proveniebant, 2 quia Parthi Hyrcano bello distinebantur. miserantque Hyrcani ad principem Romanum societatem oratum, attineri a se Vologesen pro pignore amicitiae ostentantes. eos regredientes 3 Corbulo, ne Euphraten transgressi hostium custodiis circumvenirentur, dato praesidio ad litora maris rubri deduxit, unde vitatis Parthorum finibus patrias in sedes remeavere.

- 10 26. Quin et Tiridaten per Medos extrema Armeniae intrantem, praemisso cum auxiliis Verulano legato, atque ipse legionibus citis, abire procul ac spem belli amittere subegit; quosque nobis aversos animis cognoverat, caedibus et incendiis perpopulatus, possessionem Armeniae usurpabat, cum advenit 15 Tigranes a Nerone ad capessendum imperium delectus, Cappadocum ex nobilitate, regis Archelai nepos, sed quod diu obses apud urbem fuerat, usque ad servilem patientiam demissus. nec consensu acceptus, durante apud quosdam 2 favore Arsacidarum. at plerique superbiam Parthorum perosi datum a Romanis regem malebant. additum ei praesidium 3 mille legionarii, tres sociorum cohortes duaeque equitum alae, et quo facilius novum regnum tueretur, pars Armeniae, ut cuique finitima, Pharasmani Polemonique et Aristobulo atque Antiocho parere iussae sunt. Corbulo in Suriam 4 25 abcessit, morte Ummidii legati vacuum ac sibi permissam.

27. Eodem anno ex inlustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea tremore terrae prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis opibus revaluit. at in Italia vetus oppidum Puteoli ius 2 coloniae et cognomentum a Nerone apiscuntur. veterani 3 30 Tarentum et Antium adscripti non tamen infrequentiae locorum subvenere, dilapsis pluribus in provincias in quibus stipendia expleverant; neque coniugiis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti orbas sine posteris domos relinquebant.

4 non enim, ut olim, universae legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et sui cuiusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu et caritate rem publicam efficerent, sed ignoti inter se, diversis manipulis, sine rectore, sine adfectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in unum collecti, 5 numerus magis quam colonia.

28. Comitia praetorum arbitrio senatus haberi solita, quoniam acriore ambitu exarserant, princeps composuit, tris, 2 qui supra numerum petebant, legionem praeficiendo. auxitque patrum honorem statuendo ut, qui a privatis iudicibus ad 10 senatum provocavissent, eiusdem pecuniae periculum facerent, cuius si qui imperatorem appellarent; nam antea vacuum id 3 solutumque poena fuerat. fine anni Vibius Secundus eques Romanus accusantibus Mauris repetundarum damnatur atque Italia exigitur, ne graviore poena adficeretur, Vibii Crispi 15 fratris opibus enisus.

29. Caesennio Paeto et Petronio Turpiliano consulibus gravis clades in Britannia accepta, in qua neque A. Didius legatus, ut memoravi, nisi parta retinuerat, et successor Veranius modicis excursibus Siluras populatus, quin ultra bellum pro- 20 ferret, morte prohibitus est, magna, dum vixit, severitatis fama, supremis testamenti verbis ambitionis manifestus: quippe multa in Neronem adulatione addidit subiecturum 2 ei provinciam fuisse, si biennio proximo vixisset. sed tum Paulinus Suetonius obtinebat Britannos, scientia militiae et 25 rumore populi, qui neminem sine aemulo sinit, Corbulonis concertator, receptaeque Armeniae decus aequare domitis 3 perduellibus cupiens. igitur Monam insulam, incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum, adgredi parat, navesque fabricatur 4 plano alveo adversus breve et incertum. sic pedes; equites 30 vada secuti aut altiores inter undas adnantes equis tramisere.

30. Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantibus feminis; in modum Furiarum veste ferali,

crinibus deiectis faces praeferebant ; Druidaeque circum,  
preces diras sublati ad caelum manibus fundentes, novitate  
aspectus perculere militem, ut quasi haerentibus membris  
immobile corpus vulneribus praebarent. dein cohortationibus 2  
5 ducis et se ipsi stimulantes, ne muliebres et fanaticum agmen  
pavescerent, inferunt signa sternuntque obvios et igni suo  
involvunt. praesidium posthac inpositum victis excisique 3  
luci saevis superstitionibus sacri : nam cruore captivo adolere  
aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant. haec  
10 agenti Suetonio repentina defectio provinciae nuntiatur.

31. Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus,  
Caesarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio  
ratus regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore. quod 2  
contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per  
15 servos velut capta vastarentur. iam primum uxor eius 3  
Boudicca verberibus adfecta et filiae stupro violatae sunt :  
praecipui quique Icenorum, quasi cunctam regionem muneri  
acceperant, avitis bonis exuuntur, et propinqui regis inter  
mancipia habebantur. qua contumelia et metu graviorum, 4  
20 quando in formam provinciae cesserant, rapiunt arma, commotis  
ad rebellionem Trinovantibus et qui alii nondum servitio  
fracti resumere libertatem occultis coniurationibus pepigerant,  
acerrimo in veteranos odio. quippe in coloniam Camulodu- 5  
num recens deducti pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris,  
25 captivos, servos appellando, fovebant in potentiam vetera-  
norum militibus similitudine vitae et spe eiusdem licentiae.  
ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae 6  
dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie re-  
ligionis omnis fortunas effundebant. nec arduum videbatur 7  
30 excindere coloniam nullis munimentis saeptam ; quod ducibus  
nostris parum provisum erat, dum amoenitati prius quam usui  
consulitur.

32. Inter quae nulla palam causa delapsus Camuloduni

simulacrum Victoriae ac retro conversum, quasi cederet  
2 hostibus. et feminae in furorem turbatae adesse exitium  
canebant, externosque fremitus in curia eorum auditos;  
consonuisse ululatibus theatrum visamque speciem in aestuario  
Tamesae subversae coloniae: iam Oceanus cruento aspectu, 5  
dilabente aestu humanorum corporum effigies relictæ, ut  
3 Britannis ad spem, ita veteranis ad metum trahebantur. sed  
quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivere a Cato Deciano  
procuratore auxilium. ille haud amplius quam ducentos sine  
4 iustis armis misit; et inerat modica militum manus. tutela 10  
templi freti, et impredientibus qui occulti rebellionis conscii  
consilia turbabant, neque fossam aut vallum praeduxerunt,  
neque motis senibus et feminis iuventus sola restitit: quasi  
media pace incauti multitudine barbarorum circumveniuntur.  
5 et cetera quidem impetu direpta aut incensa sunt: templum, 15  
in quo se miles conglobaverat, biduo obsessum expugna-  
6 tumque. et victor Britannus Petilio Ceriali legato legionis  
nonae in subsidium adventanti obviis fudit legionem, et quod  
peditum interfecit: Cerialis cum equitibus evasis in castra et  
7 munimentis defensus est. qua clade et odiis provinciae, 20  
quam avaritia eius in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus  
in Galliam transiit.

33. At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes  
Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne,  
sed copia negotiatorum et com meatuum maxime celebre. 25  
2 ibi ambiguus an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta  
infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem  
Petilii coercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit.  
3 neque fletu et lacrimis auxilium eius orantium flexus est,  
quin daret profectionis signum et comitantes in partem 30  
agminis acciperet: si quos inbellis sexus aut fessa aetas vel  
4 loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt. eadem  
clades municipio Verulamio fuit, quia barbari omissis castellis

praesidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spoliante et defendentibus intutum, laeti praeda et laborum segnes petebant. ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum iis quae memoravi 5 locis cecidisse constitit. neque enim capere aut venundare 6 aliudve quod belli commercium, sed caedes patibula ignes cruces, tamquam reddituri supplicium ac praerepta interim ultione, festinabant.

34. Iam Suetonio quarta decuma legio cum vexillariis vicensimanis et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme milia 10 armatorum erant, cum omittere cunctationem et congregi acie parat. deligitque locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva 2 clausum, satis cognito nihil hostium nisi in fronte et apertam planitiem esse, sine metu insidiarum. igitur legionarius 3 frequens ordinibus, levis circum armatura, conglobatus pro 15 cornibus eques adstitit. at Britannorum copiae passim per 4 catervas et turmas exultabant, quanta non alias multitudo, et animo adeo feroci, ut coniuges quoque testes victoriae secum traherent plaustrique inponerent, quae super extremum ambitum campi posuerant.

20 35. Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur, sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum 25 pudicitiam ulcisci. eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut 2 non corpora, ne senectam quidem aut virginitatem inpollutam relinquunt. adesse tamen deos iustae vindictae: 3 cecidisse legionem quae proelium ausa sit; ceteros castris occultari aut fugam circumspicere. ne strepitum quidem et 4 30 clamorem tot milium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturus: si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent, vincendum illa acie vel cadendum esse. id mulieri des- 5 tinatum: viverent viri et servirent.

36. Ne Suetonius quidem in tanto discrimine silebat. quamquam confideret virtuti, tamen exhortationes et preces miscebat, ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanes minas :  
2 plus illic feminarum quam iuventutis aspici. inbelles inermes cessuros statim, ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium totiens 5  
3 fusi adgnosissent. etiam in multis legionibus paucos, qui proelia profligarent; gloriaeque eorum accessurum quod modica manus universi exercitus famam adipiscerentur.  
4 conferti tantum et pilis emissis, post umbonibus et gladiis stragem caedemque continuarent, praedae inmemores: parta 10  
5 victoria cuncta ipsis cessura. is ardor verba ducis sequebatur, ita se ad intorquenda pila expedierat vetus miles et multa proeliorum experientia, ut certus eventus Suetonius daret pugnae signum.

37. Ac primum legio gradu inmota et angustias loci 15  
pro munimento retinens, postquam *in* propius suggressos  
2 hostis certo iactu tela exhauserat, velut cuneo erupit. idem auxiliarium impetus; et eques protentis hastis perfringit quod  
3 obvium et validum erat. ceteri terga praebuere, difficili  
4 effugio, quia circumiecta vehicula saepserant abitus. et 20  
miles ne mulierum quidem neci temperabat, confixaque  
5 telis etiam iumenta corporum cumulum auxerant. clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta: quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octoginta milia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis ferme interfectis nec multo 25  
6 amplius vulneratis. Boudicca vitam veneno finivit. et Poenius Postumus praefectus castrorum secundae legionis, cognitis quartadecumanorum vicensimanorumque prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat abnueratque contra ritum militiae iussa ducis, se ipse gladio transegit. 30

38. Contractus deinde omnis exercitus sub pellibus habitus est ad reliqua belli perpetranda. auxitque copias Caesar missis ex Germania duobus legionariorum milibus, octo

auxiliarium cohortibus ac mille equitibus, quorum adventu nonani legionario milite suppleti sunt. cohortes alaeque 2  
novis hibernaculis locatae, quodque nationum ambiguum aut adversum fuerat, igni atque ferro vastatum. sed nihil aequae 3  
5 quam fames adfligebat serendis frugibus incuriosos, et omni aetate ad bellum versa, dum nostros commeatus sibi destinant. gentesque praeferoces tardius ad pacem inclinabant, quia 4  
Iulius Classicianus successor Cato missus et Suetonio discors bonum publicum privatis simultatibus impediēbat disperse-  
10 ratque novum legatum opperiendum esse, sine hostili ira et superbia victoris clementer deditis consulturum. simul in 5  
urbem mandabat, nullum proeliorum finem expectarent, nisi succederetur Suetonio, cuius adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam referebat.

15 39. Igitur ad spectandum Britanniae statum missus est e libertis Polyclitus, magna Neronis spe posse auctoritate eius non modo inter legatum procuratoremque concordiam gigni, sed et rebelles barbarum animos pace conponi. nec defuit 2  
Polyclitus quo minus ingenti agmine Italiae Galliaeque gravis, 20  
postquam Oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis incederet. sed hostibus inrisui fuit, apud quos 3  
flagrante etiam tum libertate nondum cognita libertinorum potentia erat; mirabanturque quod dux et exercitus tanti belli confector servitiis oboedirent. cuncta tamen ad im- 4  
25 peratorem in mollius relata; detentusque rebus gerundis Suetonius, quod postea paucas naves in litore remigiumque in iis amiserat, tamquam durante bello tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui iam consulatu abierat, iubetur. is 5  
non iritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum pacis nomen 30  
segni otio imposuit.

40. Eodem anno Romae insignia scelera, alterum senatoris, servili alterum audacia, admissa sunt. Domitius Balbus erat praetorius, simul longa senecta, simul orbitate et pecunia



2 insidiis obnoxius. ei propinquus Valerius Fabianus, capes-  
 sendis honoribus destinatus, subdidit testamentum ascitis  
 Vinicio Rufino et Terentio Lentino equitibus Romanis. illi  
 3 Antonium Primum et Asinium Marcellum sociaverant. An-  
 tonius audacia promptus, Marcellus Asinio Pollione proavo 5  
 clarus neque morum spernendus habebatur, nisi quod  
 4 paupertatem praecipuum malorum credebatur. igitur Fabianus  
 tabulas sociis quos memoravi et aliis minus inlustribus  
 5 obsignat. quod apud patres convictum, et Fabianus Antoni-  
 usque cum Rufino et Terentio lege Cornelia damnantur. 10  
 Marcellum memoria maiorum et preces Caesaris poenae  
 magis quam infamiae exemere.

41. Perculit is dies Pompeium quoque Aelianum, iuvenem  
 quaestorium, tamquam flagitiorum Fabiani gnarum, eique  
 2 Italia et Hispania, in qua ortus erat, interdictum est. pari 15  
 ignominia Valerius Ponticus adficitur, quod reos, ne apud  
 praefectum urbis arguerentur, ad praetorem detulisset, interim  
 3 specie legum, mox praevaricando ultionem elusurus. additur  
 senatus consulto, qui talem operam emptitasset vendidissetve  
 perinde poena teneretur ac publico iudicio calumniae con- 20  
 demnatus.

42. Haud multo post praefectum urbis Pedanium Secun-  
 dum servus ipsius interfecit, seu negata libertate, cui pretium  
 pepigerat, sive amore exoleti incensus et dominum aemulum  
 2 non tolerans. ceterum cum vetere ex more familiam omnem, 25  
 quae sub eodem tecto mansitaverat, ad supplicium agi  
 oporteret, concursu plebis, quae tot innocuos protegebat,  
 usque ad seditionem ventum est senatusque *obsessus*, in quo  
 ipso erant studia nimiam severitatem aspernantium, pluribus  
 nihil mutandum censentibus. ex quis C. Cassius sententiae 30  
 loco in hunc modum disseruit :

43. 'Saepe numero, patres conscripti, in hoc ordine  
 interfui, cum contra instituta et leges maiorum nova senatus

decreta postularentur; neque sum adversatus, non quia dubitarem, super omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius olim provisum et quae converterentur *in* deterius mutari, sed ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer.

5 simul quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est, crebris con- 2  
tradictionibus destruendum non existimabam, ut maneret  
integrum, si quando res publica consiliis eguisset. quod 3  
hodie evenit, consulari viro domi suae interfecto per insidias  
serviles, quas nemo prohibuit aut prodidit quamvis nondum  
10 concusso senatus consulto, quod supplicium toti familiae  
minitabatur. decernite hercule impunitatem, ut quem dignitas 4  
sua defendat, cum praefectura urbis non profuerit? quem  
numerus servorum tueatur, cum Pedanium Secundum quad-  
ringenti non protexerint? cui familia opem ferat, quae ne  
15 in metu quidem pericula nostra advertit? an, ut quidam 5  
 fingere non erubescunt, iniurias suas ultus est intersector,  
quia de paterna pecunia transegerat aut avitum mancipium  
detrahebatur? pronuntiemus ultro dominum iure caesum  
videri.

20 44. Libet argumenta conquirere in eo quod sapientioribus  
deliberatum est? sed et si nunc primum statuendum  
haberemus, creditisne servum interficiendi domini animum  
sumpsisse, ut non vox minax excideret, nihil per temeritatem  
proloqueretur? sane consilium occultavit, telum inter ignaros 2  
25 paravit: num excubias transire, cubiculi fores recludere,  
lumen inferre, caedem patrare *poterat* omnibus nesciis?  
multa sceleris indicia praeveniunt: servi si prodant, possumus 3  
singuli inter plures, tuti inter anxios, postremo, si pereundum  
sit, non inulti inter nocentes agere. suspecta maioribus 4  
30 nostris fuerunt ingenia servorum, etiam cum in agris aut  
domibus isdem nascerentur caritatemque dominorum statim  
acciperent. postquam vero nationes in familiis habemus, 5  
quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt, conluviem

6 istam non nisi metu coërcueris. at quidam insontes peribunt.  
nam et ex fuso exercitu cum decumus quisque fusti feritur,  
7 etiam strenui sortiuntur. habet aliquid ex iniquo omne  
magnum exemplum, quod contra singulos utilitate publica  
rependitur.' 5

45. Sententiae Cassii ut nemo unus contra ire ausus est,  
ita dissonae voces respondebant numerum aut aetatem aut  
sexum ac plurimorum indubiam innocentiam miserantium:  
2 praevaluit tamen pars quae supplicium decernebat. sed  
obtemperari non poterat, conglobata multitudine et saxa ac 10  
3 faces minante. tum Caesar populum edicto increpuit atque  
omne iter, quo damnati ad poenam ducebantur, militaribus  
4 praesidiis saepsit. censuerat Cingonius Varro ut liberti  
quoque, qui sub eodem tecto fuissent, Italia deportarentur.  
id a principe prohibitum est, ne mos antiquus, quem miseri- 15  
cordia non minuerat, per saevitiam intenderetur.

46. Damnatus isdem consulibus Tarquitiis Priscus repe-  
tundarum Bithynis interrogantibus, magno patrum gaudio,  
qui accusatum ab eo Statilium Taurum pro consule ipsius  
2 meminerant. census per Gallias a Q. Volusio et Sextio 20  
Africano Trebellioque Maximo acti sunt, aemulis inter se  
per nobilitatem Volusio atque Africano: Trebellium dum  
uterque dedignatur, supra tulere.

47. Eo anno mortem obiit Memmius Regulus, auctoritate  
constantia fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris 25  
fastigio datur, clarus, adeo ut Nero aeger valetudine, et  
adulantibus circum qui finem imperio adesse dicebant, si  
quid fato pateretur, responderit habere subsidium rem  
publicam. rogantibus dehinc in quo potissimum, addiderat  
2 in Memmio Regulo. vixit tamen post haec Regulus, quiete 30  
defensus et quia nova generis claritudine neque invidiosis  
3 opibus erat. gymnasium eo anno dedicatum a Nerone  
praebitumque oleum equiti ac senatui Graeca facilitate.

48. P. Mario L. Afinio consulibus Antistius praetor, quem  
in tribunatu plebis licenter egisse memoravi, probrosa adversus  
principem carmina factitavit vulgavitque celebri convivio,  
dum apud Ostorium Scapulam epulatur. exim a Cossutiano 2  
5 Capitone, qui nuper senatorium ordinem precibus Tigellini  
soceri sui receperat, maiestatis delatus est. tum primum 3  
revocata ea lex, credebaturque haud perinde exitium Antistio  
quam imperatori gloriam quaeri, ut condemnatum a senatu  
intercessione tribunicia morti eximeret. et cum Ostorius 4  
10 nihil audivisse pro testimonio dixisset, adversis testibus  
creditum; censuitque Iunius Marullus consul designatus  
adimendam reo praeturam necandumque more maiorum.  
ceteris inde adsentientibus, Paetus Thrasea, multo cum 5  
honore Caesaris et acerrime increpito Antistio, non quidquid  
15 nocens reus pati mereretur, id egregio sub principe et nulla  
necessitate obstricto senatui statuendum disseruit: carnificem 6  
et laqueum pridem abolita, et esse poenas legibus constitutas,  
quibus sine iudicum saevitia et temporum infamia supplicia  
decernerentur. quin in insula publicatis bonis, quo longius 7  
20 sontem vitam traxisset, eo privatim miseriorem et publicae  
clementiae maximum exemplum futurum.

49. Libertas Thraseae servitium aliorum rupit, et postquam  
discessionem consul permiserat, pedibus in sententiam eius  
iere, paucis exceptis, in quibus adulatione promptissimus fuit  
25 A. Vitellius, optimum quemque iurgio lacessens et respon-  
denti reticens, ut pavida ingenia solent. at consules perficere 2  
decretum senatus non ausi, de consensu scripsere Caesari.  
ille inter pudorem et iram cunctatus, postremo rescipsit: 3  
nulla iniuria provocatum Antistium gravissimas in principem  
30 contumelias dixisse; earum ultionem a patribus postulatam,  
et pro magnitudine delicti poenam statui par fuisse. ceterum 4  
se, qui severitatem decernentium impediturus fuerit, modera-  
tionem non prohibere: statuerent ut vellent, datam et

5 absolvendi licentiam. his atque talibus recitatis et offensione manifesta, non ideo aut consules mutavere relationem aut Thrasea decessit sententia ceterive quae probaverant deseruere, pars, ne principem obiecisse invidiae viderentur, plures numero tuti, Thrasea sueta firmitudine animi et ne 5 gloria intercideret.

50. Haud dispari crimine Fabricius Veiento conflictatus est quod multa et probrosa in patres et sacerdotes composuisset iis libris quibus nomen codicillorum dederat. adiciebat Tullius Geminus accusator venditata ab eo munera principis 10 et adipiscendorum honorum ius. quae causa Neroni fuit suscipiendi iudicii, convictumque Veientonem Italia depulit et libros exuri iussit, conquisitos lectitatosque, donec cum periculo parabantur: mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit. 15

51. Sed gravescentibus in dies publicis malis subsidia minuebantur, concessitque vita Burrus, incertum valetudine 2 an veneno. valetudo ex eo coniectabatur, quod in se tumescentibus paulatim faucibus et impedito meatu spiritum 3 finiebat. plures iussu Neronis, quasi remedium adhiberetur, 20 inlitum palatum eius noxio medicamine adseverabant, et Burrum intellecto scelere, cum ad visendum eum princeps venisset, aspectum eius aversatum sciscitanti hactenus re- 4 spondisse: 'ego me bene habeo.' civitati grande desiderium eius mansit per memoriam virtutis et successorum alterius 25 5 segnem innocentiam, alterius flagrantissima flagitia. quippe Caesar duos praetoriis cohortibus imposuerat, Faenium Rufum ex vulgi favore, quia rem frumentariam sine quaestu tractabat, Sofonium Tigellinum, veterem inpudicitiam atque 6 infamiam in eo secutus. atque illi pro cognitis moribus fuere, 30 validior Tigellinus in animo principis et intimis libidinibus adsumptus, prospera populi et militum fama Rufus, quod apud Neronem adversum experiebatur.

52. Mors Burri infregit Senecae potentiam, quia nec bonis artibus idem virium erat altero velut duce amoto, et Nero ad deteriores inclinabat. hi variis criminationibus Senecam 2 adoriuntur, tamquam ingentes et privatum modum evectas 5 opes adhuc augeret, quodque studia civium in se verteret, hortorum quoque amoenitate et villarum magnificentia quasi principem supergrederetur. obiciebant etiam eloquentiae 3 laudem uni sibi adsciscere et carmina crebrius facitare, postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset. nam oblectamentis 4 10 principis palam iniquum detrectare vim eius equos regentis, inludere voces, quotiens caneret. quem ad finem nihil in re 5 publica clarum fore quod non ab illo reperiri credatur? certe finitam Neronis pueritiam et robur iuventae adesse: 6 exueret magistrum, satis amplis doctoribus instructus maio- 15 ribus suis.

53. At Seneca criminantium non ignarus, prodentibus iis, quibus aliqua honesti cura, et familiaritatem eius magis aspernante Caesare, tempus sermoni orat et accepto ita incipit: ' quartus decumus annus est, Caesar, ex quo spei tuae admotus 2 20 sum, octavus, ut imperium obtines: medio temporis tantum honorum atque opum in me cumulasti, ut nihil felicitati meae desit nisi moderatio eius. utar magnis exemplis, nec meae 3 fortunae sed tuae. abavus tuus Augustus M. Agrippae Mytilenense secretum, C. Maecenati urbe in ipsa velut peregrinum 25 otium permisit; quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romae pluribus laboribus iactatus ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus meritis praemia acceperant. ego quid aliud munificentiae 4 30 tuae adhibere potui quam studia, ut sic dixerim, in umbra educata, et quibus claritudo venit, quod iuventae tuae rudi- 5 mentis adfuisse videor, grande huius rei pretium. at tu 5 gratiam inmensam, innumeram pecuniam circumdedisti, adeo ut plerumque intra me ipse volvam: egone, equestri et provinciali loco ortus, proceribus civitatis adnumeror? inter nobiles

6 et longa decora praeferentes novitas mea enituit? ubi est animus ille modicis contentus? talis hortos exstruit et per haec suburbana incedit et tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato faenore exuberat? una defensio occurrit, quod muneribus tuis obniti non debui. 5

54. 'Sed uterque mensuram inplevimus, et *tu*, quantum princeps tribuere amico posset, et ego, quantum amicus a 2 principe accipere: cetera invidiam augment. quae quidem, ut omnia mortalia, infra tuam magnitudinem iacet, sed mihi incumbit, mihi subveniendum est. quo modo in militia aut via 10 fessus adminiculum orarem, ita in hoc itinere vitae senex et levissimis quoque curis inpar, cum opes meas ultra sustinere 4 non possim, praesidium peto. iube rem per procuratores tuos administrari, in tuam fortunam recipi. nec me in paupertatem ipse detrudam, sed traditis quorum fulgore praestringor, quod 15 temporis hortorum aut villarum curae seponitur, in animum 5 revocabo. superest tibi robur et tot per annos visum *summi* fastigii regimen: possumus seniores amici quietem reposcere. hoc quoque in tuam gloriam cedit, eos ad summa vexisse qui et modica tolerarent.' 20

55. Ad quae Nero sic ferme respondit: 'quod meditatae orationi tuae statim occurram, id primum tui muneris habeo, qui me non tantum praevisa sed subita expedire 2 docuisti. abavus meus Augustus Agrippae et Maecenati usurpare otium post labores concessit, sed in ea ipse aetate, 25 cuius auctoritas tueretur quidquid illud et quaecumque 3 tribuisset; ac tamen neutrum datis a se praemiis exiit. bello et periculis meruerant; in iis enim iuventa Augusti versata est. 4 nec mihi tela et manus tuae defuissent in armis agenti: sed quod praesens condicio poscebat, ratione consilio praeceptis 30 5 pueritiam, dein iuventam meam fovisti. et tua quidem erga me munera, dum vita suppetet, aeterna erunt: quae a me 6 habes, horti et faenus et villae, casibus obnoxia sunt. ac

licet multa videantur, plerique haudquaquam artibus tuis pares  
plura tenuerunt. pudet referre libertinos, qui ditiores spec- 7  
tantur: unde etiam mihi rubori est quod praecipuus caritate  
nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.

5 56. 'Verum et tibi valida aetas rebusque et fructui rerum  
sufficiens, et nos prima imperii spatia ingredimur, nisi forte  
aut te Vitellio ter consuli aut me Claudio postponis, et quan-  
tum Volusio longa parsimonia quaesivit, tantum in te mea  
liberalitas explere non potest. quin, si qua in parte lubricum 2  
10 adolescentiae nostrae declinat, revocas ornatumque robor  
subsidio impensius regis? non tua moderatio, si reddideris 3  
pecuniam, nec quies, si reliqueris principem, sed mea avaritia,  
meae crudelitatis metus in ore omnium versabitur. quod si 4  
15 maxime continentia tua laudetur, non tamen sapienti viro  
decorum fuerit, unde amico infamiam paret, inde gloriam sibi  
recipere.' his adicit complexum et oscula, factus natura et 5  
consuetudine exercitus velare odium fallacibus blanditiis.  
Seneca, qui finis omnium cum dominante sermonum, 6  
grates agit: sed instituta prioris potentiae commutat, prohibet  
20 coetus salutantium, vitat comitantis, rarus per urbem, quasi  
valetudine infensa aut sapientiae studiis domi adtineretur.

57. Perculso Seneca promptum fuit Rufum Faenium in-  
minuere Agrippinae amicitiam in eo criminantibus. validior-  
que in dies Tigellinus et malas artes, quibus solis pollebat,  
25 gratiores ratus, si principem societate scelerum obstringeret,  
metus eius rimatur; conpertoque Plautum et Sullam maxime  
timeri, Plautum in Asiam, Sullam in Galliam Narbonensem  
nuper amotos, nobilitatem eorum et propinquos huic Orientis,  
illi Germaniae exercitus commemorat. non se, ut Burrum, 2  
30 diversas spes, sed solam incolumitatem Neronis spectare;  
cui caveri utcumque ab urbanis insidiis praesenti opera:  
longinquos motus quonam modo comprimi posse? erectas 3  
Galilas ad nomen dictatorium, nec minus suspensos Asiae



4 populos claritudine avi Drusi. Sullam inopem, unde prae-  
cipuam audaciam, et simulatorem segnitiae, dum temeritati  
5 locum reperiret. Plautum magnis opibus ne fingere quidem  
cupidinem otii, sed veterum Romanorum imitamenta praeferre,  
adsumpta etiam Stoicorum adrogantia sectaque, quae turbidos 5  
6 et negotiorum adpetentes faciat. nec ultra mora. Sulla  
sexto die pervectis Massiliam percussoribus ante metum et  
rumorem interficitur, cum epulandi causa discumberet. per-  
latum caput eius inlusit Nero tamquam praematura canitie  
deforme.

10

58. Plauto parari necem non perinde occultum fuit, quia  
pluribus salus eius curabatur, et spatium itineris ac maris  
tempusque interiectum moverat famam; vulgoque fingeant  
petitum ab eo Corbulonem, magnis tum exercitibus praesiden-  
tem et, clari atque insontes si interficerentur, praecipuum ad 15  
2 pericula. quin et Asiam favore iuvenis arma cepisse, nec  
milites ad scelus missos aut numero validos aut animo promp-  
tos, postquam iussa efficere nequiverint, ad spes novas trans-  
3 isse. vana haec more famae credentium otio augebantur;  
ceterum libertus Plauti celeritate ventorum praevenit centu- 20  
rionem et mandata L. Antistii soceri attulit: effugeret segnem  
mortem, dum suffugium esset: magni nominis miseratione  
reperit bonos, consociaturum audaces: nullum interim  
4 subsidium aspernandum. si sexaginta milites (tot enim  
adveniebant) propulisset, dum refertur nuntius Neroni, dum 25  
manus alia permeat, multa secutura quae adusque bellum  
5 evalescerent. denique aut salutem tali consilio quaeri, aut  
nihil gravius audenti quam ignavo patiendum esse.

59. Sed Plautum ea non movere, sive nullam opem pro-  
videbat inermis atque exul, seu taedio ambiguae spei, an 30  
amore coniugis et liberorum, quibus placabiliorem fore prin-  
2 cipem rebatur nulla sollicitudine turbatum. sunt qui alios a  
socero nuntios venisse ferant, tamquam nihil atrox immineret;

doctoresque sapientiae, Coeranum Graeci, Musonium Tusci generis, constantiam opperendae mortis pro incerta et trepida vita suasisse. repertus est certe per medium diei **3** nudus exercitando corpori. talem eum centurio trucidavit **5** coram Pelagone spadone, quem Nero centurioni et manipulo, quasi satellitibus ministrum regium, praeposuerat. caput **4** interfecti relatum; cuius aspectu (ipsa principis verba referam) cur, inquit, Nero \* \* \* et posito metu nuptias Poppaeae ob eius modi terrores dilatas maturare parat Octaviamque **10** coniugem amoliri, quamvis modeste ageret, nomine patris et studiis populi gravem. sed ad senatum litteras misit de **5** caede Sullae Plautique haud confessus, verum utriusque turbidum ingenium esse, et sibi incolumitatem rei publicae magna cura haberi. decretae eo nomine supplicationes, **6** **15** utque Sulla et Plautus senatu moverentur, gravioribus iam ludibriis quam malis.

**60.** Igitur accepto patrum consulto, postquam cuncta scelerum suorum pro egregiis accipi videt, exturbat Octaviam, sterilem dictitans; exim Poppaeae coniungitur. ea diu **2** **20** paelex et adulteri Neronis, mox mariti potens, quendam ex ministris Octaviae impulit servilem ei amorem obicere. destinaturque reus cognomento Eucaerus, natione Alexan- **3** drinus, canere tibiis doctus. actae ob id de ancillis quaestiones **4** et vi tormentorum victis quibusdam ut falsa adnuerent, plures **25** perstitere sanctitatem dominae tueri. movetur tamen primo **5** civilis discidii specie domumque Burri, praedia Plauti, infausta dona accipit: mox in Campaniam pulsa est addita militari custodia. inde crebri questus nec occulti per vulgum, cui **6** minor sapientia et ex mediocritate fortunae pauciora pericula **30** sunt. his . . . tamquam Nero paenitentia flagitii coniugem revocavit Octaviam.

**61.** Exim laeti Capitolium scandunt deosquē tandem

venerantur. effigies Poppaeae proruunt, Octaviae imagines  
gestant umeris, spargunt floribus foroque ac templis statuunt.  
2 † itur etiam in principis laudes repetitum venerantium. iamque  
et Palatium multitudine et clamoribus complebant, cum emissi  
militum globi verberibus et intento ferro turbatos disiecere. 5  
mutataque quae per seditionem verterant, et Poppaeae honos  
3 repositus est. quae semper odio, tum et metu atrox, ne aut  
vulgi acrior vis ingrueret aut Nero inclinatione populi muta-  
retur, provoluta genibus eius, non eo loci res suas ait, ut de  
matrimonio certet, quamquam id sibi vita potius, sed vitam 10  
ipsam in extremum adductam a clientelis et servitiis Octaviae,  
quae plebis sibi nomen indiderint, ea in pace ausi quae vix  
4 bello evenirent. arma illa adversus principem sumpta;  
ducem tantum defuisse, qui motis rebus facile reperiretur,  
omitteret modo Campaniam et in urbem ipsa pergeret, ad 15  
5 cuius nutum absentis tumultus cierentur. quod alioquin suum  
delictum? quam cuiusquam offensionem? an quia veram  
progeniem penatibus Caesarum datura sit? malle populum  
Romanum tibicinis Aegyptii subolem imperatorio fastigio  
6 induci? denique, si id rebus conducatur, libens quam coactus 20  
7 acciret dominam, vel consuleret securitati iusta ultione. et  
modicis remediis primos motus consedissee: at si desperent  
uxorem Neronis fore Octaviam, illi maritum duros.

62. Varius sermo et ad metum atque iram accommodatus  
terrui simul audientem et accendit. sed parum valebat 25  
suspicio in servo et quaestionibus ancillarum elusa erat.  
2 ergo confessionem alicuius quaeri placet, cui rerum quoque  
3 novarum crimen adfingeretur. et visus idoneus maternae  
necis patrator Anicetus, classi apud Misenum, ut memoravi,  
praefectus, levi post admissum scelus gratia, dein graviore 30  
odio, quia malorum facinorum ministri quasi exprobrantes  
4 aspiciuntur. igitur accitum eum Caesar operae prioris ad-  
monet: solum incolumitati principis adversus insidiantem

matrem subvenisse ; locum haud minoris gratiae instare, si coniugem infensam depelleret. nec manu aut telo opus : 5 fateretur Octaviae adulterium. occulta quidem ad praesens, sed magna ei praemia et secessus amoenos promittit, vel, si negavisset, necem intentat. ille insita vaecordia et facilitate 6 priorum flagitiorum, plura etiam quam iussum erat fingit fateturque apud amicos, quos velut consilio adhibuerat princeps. tum in Sardiniam pellitur, ubi non inops exilium toleravit et fato obiit.

10 63. At Nero praefectum in spem sociandae classis corruptum, et incusatae paulo ante sterilitatis oblitus, abactos partus conscientia libidinum, eaque sibi conperta edicto memorat insulaque Pandateria Octaviam claudit. non alia exul visen- 2 tium oculos maiore misericordia adfecit. meminerant adhuc quidam Agrippinae a Tiberio, recentior Iuliae memoria 15 obversabatur a Claudio pulsae : sed illis robur aetatis adfuerat ; 3 laeta aliqua viderant et praesentem saevitiam melioris olim fortunae recordatione adlevabant. huic primum nuptiarum 4 dies loco funeris fuit, deductae in domum in qua nihil nisi 20 luctuosum haberet, erepto per venenum patre et statim fratre ; tum ancilla domina validior et Poppaea non nisi in perniciem uxoris nupta, postremo crimen omni exitio gravior.

64. Ac puella vicensimo aetatis anno inter centuriones et milites, praesagio malorum iam vitae exempta, nondum 25 tamen morte adquiescebat. paucis dehinc interiectis diebus 2 mori iubetur, cum iam viduam se et tantum sororem testaretur communesque Germanicos et postremo Agrippinae nomen cieret, qua incolumi infelix quidem matrimonium, sed sine exitio pertulisset. restringitur vinclis venaeque eius 3 30 per omnes artus exsolvuntur ; et quia pressus pavore sanguis tardius labebatur, praeservidi balnei vapore enecatur. additurque atrocior saevitia, quod caput amputatum latumque in urbem Poppaea vidit. dona ob haec templis decreta

5 quem ad finem memorabimus? quicumque casus temporum  
illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus noscent, praesumptum  
habeant, quotiens fugas et caedes iussit princeps, totiens  
grates deis actas, quaeque rerum secundarum olim, tum  
6 publicae cladis insignia fuisse. neque tamen silebimus, si 5  
quod senatus consultum adulatione novum aut patientia  
postremum fuit.

65. Eodem anno libertorum potissimos veneno interfecisse  
creditus est, Doryphorum quasi adversatum nuptiis Poppaeae,  
Pallantem, quod immensam pecuniam longa senecta detineret. 10  
2 Romanus secretis criminationibus incusaverat Senecam ut  
C. Pisonis socium, sed validius a Seneca eodem crimine  
perculsus est. unde Pisoni timor et orta insidiarum in  
Neronem magna moles et inprospera.

## LIBER XV.

1. INTEREA rex Parthorum Vologeses cognitis Corbulonis rebus regemque alienigenam Tigranen Armeniae impositum, simul fratre Tiridate pulso spretum Arsacidarum fastigium ire ultum volens, magnitudine rursum Romana et continui  
 5 foederis reverentia diversas ad curas trahebatur, cunctator ingenio et defectione Hyrcanorum, gentis validae, multisque ex eo bellis inligatus. atque illum ambiguum novus insuper 2 nuntius contumeliae exstimulat: quippe egressus Armenia Tigranes Adiabenos, conterminam nationem, latius ac diutius  
 10 quam per latrocinia vastaverat, idque primores gentium aegre tolerabant: eo contemptionis descensum, ut ne duce quidem Romano incursarentur, sed temeritate obsidis tot per annos inter mancipia habiti. accendebat dolorem eorum Mono- 3 bazus, quem penes Adiabenum regimen, quod praesidium  
 15 aut unde peteret rogitans. iam de Armenia concessum, 4 proxima trahi; et nisi defendant Parthi, levius servitium apud Romanos deditis quam captis esse. Tiridates quoque regni 5 profugus per silentium aut modice querendo gravior erat: non enim ignavia magna imperia contineri; virorum armo-  
 20 rumque faciendum certamen; id in summa fortuna acquius quod validius; et sua retinere privatae domus, de alienis certare regiam laudem esse.

2. Igitur commotus his Vologeses concilium vocat et proximum sibi Tiridaten constituit atque ita orditur: hunc  
 25 ego eodem mecum patre genitum, cum mihi per aetatem summo nomine concessisset, in possessionem Armeniae deduxi, qui tertius potentiae gradus habetur: nam Medos Pacorus ante ceperat. videbarque contra vetera fratrum odia et 2 certamina familiae nostrae penates rite composuisse. pro-

hibent Romani et pacem numquam ipsis prospere lacessitam  
 3 nunc quoque in exitium suum abrumpunt. non ibo infitias :  
 aequitate quam sanguine, causa quam armis retinere par-  
 maioribus malueram. si cunctatione deliqui, virtute corrigam.  
 4 vestra quidem vis et gloria *in* integro est, addita modestiae 5  
 fama, quae neque summis mortalium spernenda est et a dis  
 5 aestimatur.' simul diademate caput Tiridatis evinxit; prom-  
 ptam equitum manum, quae regem ex more sectatur, Monaesi  
 nobili viro tradidit, adiectis Adiabenorum auxiliis, mandavitque  
 Tigranen Armenia exturbare, dum ipse positus adversus 10  
 Hyrcanos discordiis vires intimas molemq; belli ciet, pro-  
 vinciiis Romanis minitans.

3. Quae ubi Corbuloni certis nuntiis audita sunt, legiones  
 duas cum Verulano Severo et Vettio Bolano subsidium  
 Tigrani mittit, occulto praecepto, compositius cuncta quam 15  
 festinantius agerent: quippe bellum habere quam gerere  
 2 malebat. scripseratque Caesari proprio duce opus esse, qui  
 Armeniam defenderet: Suriam ingruente Vologese acriore  
 3 in discrimine esse. atque interim reliquas legiones pro ripa  
 Euphratis locat, tumultuariam provincialium manum armat, 20  
 4 hostiles ingressus praesidiis intercipit. et quia egena aquarum  
 regio est, castella fontibus inposita; quosdam rivos congestu  
 harenae abdidit.

4. Ea dum a Corbulone tuendae Suriae parantur, acto  
 raptim agmine Monaeses, ut famam sui praeiret, non ideo 25  
 2 nescium aut incautum Tigranen offendit. occupaverat Ti-  
 granocertam, urbem copia defensorum et magnitudine moe-  
 3 nium validam. ad hoc Nicephorius amnis *hanc a Corbulone*  
 latitudine partem murorum ambit, et ducta ingens fossa, qua  
 4 fluvio diffidebatur. inerantque milites et provisi ante com- 30  
 meatus, quorum subvectu pauci avidius progressi et repentinis  
 hostibus circumventi ira magis quam metu ceteros accenderant.  
 5 sed Partho ad exsequendas obsidiones nulla *comminus*  
*comminus - classis engagement*

audacia : raris sagittis neque clausos exterret et semet frustratur. Adiabeni cum promovere scalas et machinamenta inciperent, facile detrusi, mox erumpentibus nostris caeduntur. 6

5. Corbulo tamen, quamvis secundis rebus suis, moderandum fortunae ratus misit ad Vologesen qui expostularent vim provinciae inlatam : socium amicumque regem, cohortes Romanas circumsideri. omitteret potius obsidionem, aut se quoque in agro hostili castra positurum. Casperius 2 centurio in eam legationem delectus apud oppidum Nisibin, 10 septem et triginta milibus passuum a Tigranocerta distantem, adiit regem et mandata ferociter edidit. Vologesi vetus et 3 penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi, nec praesentia prospere fluebant. inritum obsidium, tutus manu et copiis 4 Tigranes, fugati qui expugnationem sumpserant, missae in 15 Armeniam legiones, et aliae pro Suria paratae ultro inrumperere ; sibi inbecillum equitem pabuli inopia : nam exorta vis locustarum ambederat quidquid herbidum aut frondosum. igitur metu abstruso mitiora obtendens, missurum ad imperatorem Romanum legatos super petenda Armenia et fir- 5 manda pace respondet. Monaesen omittere Tigranocertam iubet, ipse retro concedit. 20

6. Haec plures ut formidine regis et Corbulonis minis patrata ac magnifica extollebant : alii occulte pepigisse interpretabantur, ut omissio utrimque bello et abeunte Vologese 25 Tigranes quoque Armenia abscederet. cur enim exercitum 2 Romanum a Tigranocertis deductum ? cur deserta per otium quae bello defenderant ? an melius hibernavisse in extrema Cappadocia, raptim erectis tuguiis, quam in sede regni modo retenti ? dilata prorsus arma, ut Vologeses cum alio quam 3 30 cum Corbulone certaret, Corbulo merita tot per annos gloriae non ultra periculum faceret. nam, ut rettuli, proprium 4 ducem tuendae Armeniae poposcerat, et adventare Caesennius Pactus audiebatur. iamque aderat, copiis ita divisus, ut 5



quarta et duodecima legiones addita quinta, quae recens  
e Moesis excita erat, simul Pontica et Galatarum Cap-  
padocumque auxilia Paeto oboedirent, tertia et sexta et  
decuma legiones priorque Suriae miles apud Corbulonem  
6 manerent; cetera ex rerum usu sociarent partirentur. sed 5  
neque Corbulo aemuli patiens, et Paetus, cui satis ad gloriam  
erat, si proximus haberetur, despiciebat gesta, nihil caedis  
aut praedae, usurpatas nomine tenuis urbium expugnationes  
dictitans: se tributa ac leges et pro umbra regis Romanum  
ius victis impositurum. 10

7. Sub idem tempus legati Vologesis, quos ad principem  
missos memoravi, revertere inriti bellumque propalam sump-  
2 tum a Parthis. nec Paetus detrectavit, sed duabus legionibus,  
quarum quartam Funisulanus Vettonianus eo in tempore,  
duodecumam Calavius Sabinus regebant, Armeniam intrat 15  
3 tristi omine. nam in transgressu Euphratis, quem ponte  
tramittebant, nulla palam causa turbatus equus, qui consularia  
4 insignia gestabat, retro evasit. hostiaque, quae muniebantur,  
hibernaculis adsistens, semifacta opera fuga perripuit seque  
5 vallo extulit. et pila militum arsere, magis insigni prodigio, 20  
quia Parthus hostis missilibus telis decertat.

8. Ceterum Paetus spretis ominibus, necdum satis firmatis  
hibernaculis, nullo rei frumentariae provisu, rapit exercitum  
trans montem Taurum recipiendis, ut ferebat, Tigranocertis  
vastandisque regionibus, quas Corbulo integras omisisset. 25  
2 et capta quaedam castella, gloriaeque et praedae nonnihil  
partum, si aut gloriam cum modo aut praedam cum cura  
3 habuisset. longinquis itineribus percursando, quae obtineri  
nequibant, corrupto, qui captus erat, commeatu et instante  
iam hieme, reduxit exercitum composuitque ad Caesarem 30  
litteras quasi confecto bello, verbis magnificis, rerum vacuas.

9. Interim Corbulo numquam neglectam Euphratis ripam  
crebrioribus praesidiis insedit; et ne ponti iniciendo impedi-

mentum hostiles turmae adferrent (iam enim subiectis campis  
magna specie volitabant), naves magnitudine praestantes et  
conexas trabibus ac turribus auctas agit per amnem catapul-  
tisque et ballistis proturbat barbaros, in quos saxa et hastae  
5 longius permeabant, quam ut contrario sagittarum iactu  
adaequarentur. dein pons continuatus collesque adversi per 2  
socias cohortes, post legionum castris occupantur, tanta  
celeritate et ostentatione virium, ut Parthi omissa paratu  
invadendae Suriae spem omnem in Armeniam verterent, ubi  
10 Paetus imminetium nescius quintam legionem procul in  
Ponto habebat, reliquas promiscis militum commeatibus  
infirmaverat, donec adventare Vologesen magno et infenso  
agmine auditum.

10. Accititur legio duodecima, et unde famam aucti exercitus  
15 speraverat, prodita infrequentia, qua tamen retineri castra et  
eludi Parthus tractu belli poterat, si Paeto aut in suis aut in  
alienis consiliis constantia fuisset: verum ubi a viris militari- 2  
bus adversus urgentes casus firmatus erat, rursus, ne alienae  
sententiae indigens videretur, in diversa ac deteriora transibat.  
20 et tunc relictis hibernis non fossam neque vallum sibi, sed 3  
corpora et arma in hostem data clamitans, duxit legiones  
quasi proelio certaturus. deinde amisso centurione et paucis 4  
militibus, quos visendis hostium copiis praemiserat, trepidus  
remcavit. et quia minus acriter Vologeses institerat, vana 5  
25 rursus fiducia tria milia delecti peditis proximo Tauri iugo  
imposuit, quo transitum regis arcerent; alares quoque  
Pannonios, robur equitatus, in parte campi locat. coniunx 6  
ac filius castello, cui Arsamosata nomen est, abditi, data in  
praesidium cohorte ac disperso milite, qui in uno habitus  
30 vagum hostem promptius sustentavisset. aegre compulsum 7  
ferunt, ut instantem Corbuloni fateretur. nec a Corbulone  
properatum, quo gliscentibus periculis etiam subsidii laus  
augeretur. expediri tamen itineri singula milia ex tribus 8

legionibus et alarios octingentos, parem numerum e cohortibus iussit.

11. At Vologésēs, quamvis obsessa a Paeto itinera hinc peditatu inde equite accepisset, nihil mutato consilio, sed vi ac minis alares exterruit, legionarios obtrivit, uno tantum 5 centurione Tarquutio Crescente turrim, in qua praesidium agitabat, defendere auso factaque saepius eruptione et caesis, qui barbarorum propius suggrediebantur, donec ignium iactu 2 circumveniretur. peditum si quis integer longinqua et avia, vulnerati castra repetivere, virtutem regis, saevitiam et copias 10 gentium, cuncta metu extollentes, facili credulitate eorum qui 3 eadem pavebant. ne dux quidem obniti adversis, sed cuncta militiae munia deseruerat, missis iterum ad Corbulonem precibus, veniret propere, signa et aquilas et nomen reliquum infelicis exercitus tueretur: se fidem interim, donec vita 15 subpeditet, retenturos.

12. Ille interritus et parte copiarum apud Suriam relictā, ut munimenta Euphrati inposita retinerentur, qua proximum et com meatibus non egenum, regionem Commagenam, exim 2 Cappadociam, inde Armenios petivit. comitabantur exer- 20 citum praeter alia sueta bello magna vis camelorum onusta 3 frumenti, ut simul hostem famemque depelleret. primum e percussis Paccium primi pili centurionem obvium habuit, dein plerosque militum; quos diversas fugae causas obten- dentes redire ad signa et clementiam Paeti experiri monebat; 25 4 se nisi victoribus inmitem esse. simul suas legiones adire, hortari, priorum admonere, novam gloriam ostendere. non vicos aut oppida Armeniorum, sed castra Romana duasque 5 in iis legiones pretium laboris peti. si singulis manipularibus praecipua servati civis corona imperatoria manu tribueretur, 30 quod illud et quantum decus, ubi par eorum numerus aspi- 6 ceretur, qui adtulissent salutem et qui accepissent! his atque talibus in commune alacres (et erant quos pericula fratrum

aut propinquorum propriis stimulis incenderent) continuum diu noctuque iter properabant.

13. Eoque intentius Vologeses premere obsessos, modo vallum legionum, modo castellum, quo inbellis aetas defendebatur, adpugnare, propius incedens quam mos Parthis, si ea temeritate hostem in proelium eliceret. at illi vix contuberniis extracti, nec aliud quam munimenta propugnabant, pars iussu ducis, et alii propria ignavia aut Corbulonem opperientes, ac vis si ingrueret, provisus exemplis cladis Caudinae Numantinaeque; neque eandem vim Samnitibus, Italico populo, ac Parthis, Romani imperii aemulis. validam quoque et laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna contra daret, saluti consuluisse. qua desperatione exercitus dux subactus primas tamen litteras ad Vologesen non supplices, sed in modum querentis composuit, quod pro Armeniis semper Romanae dicionis aut subiectis regi, quem imperator delegisset, hostilia faceret: pacem ex aequo utilem; ne praesentia tantum spectaret. ipsum adversus duas legiones totis regni viribus advenisse: at Romanis orbem terrarum reliquum, quo bellum iuarent.

14. Ad ea Vologeses nihil pro causa, sed opperandos sibi fratres Pacorum ac Tiridaten rescripsit; illum locum tempusque consilio destinatum, quid de Armenia cernerent; adiecisse deos dignum Arsacidarum, simul ut de legionibus Romanis statuerent. missi posthac Paeto nuntii et regis conloquium petiit, qui Vasacen praefectum equitatus ire iussit. tum Paetus Lucullos, Pompeios et si qua Caesares optinendae donandaeve Armeniae egerant, Vasaces imaginem retinendi largiendive penes nos, vim penes Parthos memorat. et multum in vicem disceptato, Monobazus Adiabenus in diem posterum testis iis quae pepigissent adhibetur. placuit que liberari obsidio legiones et decedere omnem militem finibus Armeniorum castellaque et commeatus Parthis tradi,

*memoria*  
*quantum alius*  
A.D. 62.]

LIBER XV. CAP. 12-16.

quibus perpetratis copia Vologesi fieret mittendi ad Neronem legatos.

15. Interim flumini Arsaniae (is castra praefluebat) pontem imposuit, specie sibi illud iter expedientis, sed Parthi quasi documentum victoriae iusserant; namque iis usui fuit, nostri 5  
2 per diversum iere. addidit rumor sub iugum missas legiones et alia ex rebus infaustis, quorum simulacrum ab Armeniis  
3 usurpatum est. namque et munimenta ingressi sunt, antequam agmen Romanum excederet, et circumstetere vias, captiva olim mancipia aut iumenta adgnoscentes abstra- 10  
4 hentesque: raptae etiam vestes, retenta arma, pavido milite  
5 et concedente, ne qua proelii causa existeret. Vologeses armis et corporibus caesorum aggeratis, quo cladem nostram testaretur, visu fugientium legionum abstinuit. fama modera-  
6 tionis quaerebatur, postquam superbiam expleverat. flumen 15  
Arsaniam elephanto insidens, proximus quisque regem vi equorum perrupere, quia rumor incesserat pontem cessurum oneri dolo fabricantium: sed qui ingredi ausi sunt, validum et fidum intellexere.

16. Ceterum obsessis adeo suppeditavisse rem frumentariam 20  
constitit, ut horreis ignem inicerent, contraque prodiderit Corbulo Parthos inopes copiarum et pabulo attrito relicturos  
2 oppugnationem, neque se plus tridui itinere afuisse. adicit iure iurando Paeti cautum apud signa, adstantibus iis quos  
testificando rex misisset, neminem Romanum Armeniam 25  
ingressurum, donec referrentur litterae Neronis, an paci  
3 adneret. quae ut augendae infamiae composita, sic reliqua non in obscuro habentur, una die quadraginta milium spatium  
emensum esse Paetum, desertis passim sauciis, neque minus deformem illam fugientium trepidationem quam si terga in 30  
4 acie vertissent. Corbulo cum suis copiis apud ripam Euphratis obviis non eam speciem insignium et armorum praetulit, ut  
5 diversitatem exprobraret. maesti manipuli ac vicem com-

*horreos - magister*

militonum miserantes ne lacrimis quidem temperare; vix prae fletu usurpata consalutatio. decesserat certamen virtutis 6 et ambitio gloriae, felicitum hominum adfectus: sola misercordia valebat, et apud minores magis.

5 17. Ducum inter se brevis sermo secutus est, hoc con-  
querente iam inritum laborem, potuisse bellum fuga Parthorum  
finiri: ille integra utrique cuncta respondit: converterent  
aquilas et iuncti invaderent Armeniam abscessu Vologesis  
infirmatam. non ea imperatoris habere mandata Corbulo: 2  
10 periculo legionum commotum e provincia egressum; quando  
in incerto habeantur Parthorum conatus, Suriam repetiturum:  
sic quoque optimam Fortunam orandam, ut pedes confectus 3  
spatiis itinerum alacrem et facilitate camporum praevenientem  
equitem adsequeretur. exim Paetus per Cappadociam hiber- 4  
15 navit: at Vologesis ad Corbulonem missi nuntii, detraheret  
castella trans Euphraten amnemque, ut olim, medium faceret.  
ille Armeniam quoque diversis praesidiis vacuam fieri ex- 5  
postulabat. et postremo concessit rex; dirutaque quae  
Euphraten ultra communiverat Corbulo, et Armenii sine  
20 arbitro relictis sunt.

18. At Romae tropaea de Parthis arcusque medio Capito-  
lini montis sistebantur, decreta ab senatu integro adhuc bello  
neque tum ommissa, dum aspectui consulitur spreta conscientia.  
quin et dissimulandis rerum externarum curis Nero frumen- 2  
25 tum plebis vetustate corruptum in Tiberim iecit, quo securi-  
tatem annonae sustentaret. cuius pretio nihil additum est, 3  
quamvis ducentas ferme naves portu in ipso violentia  
tempestatis et centum alias Tiberi subvectas fortuitus ignis  
absumpsisset. tris dein consulares, L. Pisonem, Ducenium 4  
30 Geminum, Pompeium Paulinum vectigalibus publicis prae-  
posuit, cum insectatione priorum principum, qui gravitate  
sumptuum iustos redditus anteissent: se annum sexcentiens  
sestertium rei publicae largiri.

*omit*  
19. Percrebruerat ea tempestate pravissimus mos, cum propinquis comitiis aut sorte provinciarum plerique orbi fictis adoptionibus adsciscerent filios, praeturasque et provincias inter patres sortiti statim emitterent manu, quos  
2 adoptaverant. magna cum invidia senatum adeunt, ius 5 naturae, labores educandi adversus fraudem et artes et brevitate adoptionis enumerant. satis pretii esse orbis, quod  
3 multa securitate, nullis oneribus gratiam honores cuncta  
4 prompta et obvia haberent. sibi promissa legum diu expectata in ludibrium verti, quando quis sine sollicitudine parens, 10 sine luctu orbus longa patrum vota repente adaequaret.  
5 factum ex eo senatus consultum, ne simulata adoptio in ulla parte muneris publici iuvaret ac ne usurpandis quidem hereditatibus prodesset.

20. Exim Claudius Timarchus Cretensis reus agitur, ceteris 15 criminibus, ut solent praevalidi provincialium et opibus nimis ad iniurias minorum elati: una vox eius usque ad contumeliam senatus penetraverat, quod dictitasset in sua potestate situm, an proconsulibus, qui Cretam obtinuissent, grates agerentur.  
2 quam occasionem Paetus Thrasea ad bonum publicum vertens, 20 postquam de reo censuerat provincia Creta depellendum, haec addidit: 'usu probatum est, patres conscripti, leges egregias, exempla honesta apud bonos ex delictis aliorum  
3 gigni. sic oratorum licentia Cinciam rogationem, candidatorum ambitus Iulias leges, magistratuum avaritia Calpurnia 25 scita pepererunt; nam culpa quam poena tempore prior,  
4 emendari quam peccare posterius est. ergo adversus novam provincialium superbiam dignum fide constantiaque Romana capiamus consilium, quo tutelae sociorum nihil derogetur, nobis opinio decedat, qualis quisque habeatur, alibi quam in 30 civium iudicio esse.

21. 'Olim quidem non modo praetor aut consul, sed privati etiam mittebantur, qui provincias viserent et quid de cuius-

que obsequio videretur referrent, trepidabantque gentes de aestimatione singulorum; at nunc colimus externos et ad-  
 lamur, et quo modo ad nutum alicuius grates, ita promptius  
 accusatio decernitur. decernaturque et maneat provincialibus  
 5 potentiam suam tali modo ostentandi: sed laus falsa et  
 precibus expressa perinde cohibeatur quam malitia, quam  
 crudelitas. plura saepe peccantur dum demeremur quam 4  
 dum offendimus. quaedam immo virtutes odio sunt, severitas  
 obstinata, invictus adversum gratiam animus. inde initia 5  
 10 magistratum nostrorum meliora ferme et finis inclinat, dum  
 in modum candidatorum suffragia conquirimus; quae si  
 arceantur, aequabilius atque constantius provinciae regentur.  
 nam ut metu repetundarum infracta avaritia est, ita vetita 6  
 gratiarum actione ambitio cohibebitur.'

15 22. Magno adsensu celebrata sententia, non tamen senatus  
 consultum perfici potuit, abnuentibus consulibus ea de re  
 relatum. mox auctore principe sanxere, ne quis ad con- 2  
 cilium sociorum referret agendas apud senatum pro prae-  
 toribus prove consulibus grates, neu quis ea legatione  
 20 fungeretur.

Isdem consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, 3  
 effigiesque in eo Neronis ad informe aes liquefacta. et motu 4  
 terrae celebre Campaniae oppidum Pompei magna ex parte  
 proruit. defunctaque virgo Vestalis Laelia, in cuius locum  
 25 Cornelia ex familia Cossorum capta est.

23. Memmio Regulo et Verginio Rufo consulibus natam  
 sibi ex Poppaea filiam Nero ultra mortale gaudium accepit  
 appellavitque Augustam, dato et Poppaeae eodem cognomento.  
 locus puerperio colonia Antium fuit, ubi ipse generatus erat. 2  
 30 iam senatus utrum Poppaeae commendaverat dis votaque  
 publice susceperat, quae multiplicata exsolutaque. et additae 3  
 supplicationes templumque Fecunditati et certamen ad  
 exemplar Actiacae religionis decretum, utque Fortunarum



effigies aureae in solio Capitolini Iovis locarentur, ludicrum circense, ut Iuliae genti apud Bovillas, ita Claudiae Domitiaequae apud Antium ederetur. quae fluxa fuere, quantum intra mensem defuncta infante. rursusque exortae adulationes censentium honorem divae et pulvinar aedemque et sacerdotem. atque ipse ut laetitiae, ita maeroris inmodicus egit. adnotatum est, omni senatu Antium sub recentem partum effuso, Thraseam prohibitum inmoto animo praenuntiam imminentis caedis contumeliam excepisse. secutam dehinc vocem Caesaris ferunt, qua reconciliatum se Thraseae apud Senecam iactaverit, ac Senecam Caesari gratulatum; unde gloria egregiis viris et pericula gliscebant.

24. Inter quae veris principio legati Parthorum mandata regis Vologesis litterasque in eandem formam attulere: se priora et totiens iactata super optinenda Armenia nunc omittere, quoniam di, quamvis potentium populorum arbitri, possessionem Parthis non sine ignominia Romana tradidissent. nuper clausum Tigranen; post Paetum legionesque, cum opprimere posset, incolumes dimisisse. satis adprobatam vim; datum et lenitatis experimentum. nec recusaturum Tiridaten accipiendi diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur. iturum ad signa et effigies principis, ubi legionibus coram regnum auspicaretur.

25. Talibus Vologesis litteris, quia Paetus diversa tamquam rebus integris scribebat, interrogatus centurio, qui cum legatis advenerat, quo in statu Armenia esset, omnes inde Romanos excessisse respondit. tum intellecto barbarum inrisu, qui peterent quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, bellum anceps an pax inhonesta placeret. nec dubitatum de bello. et Corbulo militum atque hostium tot per annos gnarus gerendae rei praeficitur, ne cuius alterius inscitia rursum peccaretur, quia Paeti piguerat. igitur inriti remittuntur, cum donis tamen, unde spes fieret non frustra

eadem oraturum Tiridaten, si preces ipse attulisset. Suriaeque 5  
exsecutio C. Cestio, copiae militares Corbuloni permissae, et  
quinta decuma legio ducente Mario Celso e Pannonia adiecta  
est. scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procu- 6  
5 ratoribus et qui praetorum finitimas provincias regebant,  
iussis Corbulonis obsequi, in tantum ferme modum aucta  
potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn. Pompeio bellum  
piraticum gesturo dederat. regressum Paetum, cum graviora 7  
metueret, faciliis insectari satis habuit Caesar, his ferme  
10 verbis: ignoscere se statim, ne tam promptus in pavorem  
longiore sollicitudine aegresceret.

26. At Corbulo quarta et duodecuma legionibus, quae fortis-  
simo quoque amisso et ceteris exterritis parum habiles proelio  
videbantur, in Suriam translatis, sextam inde ac tertiam  
15 legiones, integrum militem et crebris ac prosperis laboribus  
exercitum, in Armeniam ducit. addiditque legionem quintam, 2  
quae per Pontum agens experts cladis fuerat, simul quinta-  
decumanos recens adductos et vexilla delectorum ex Illyrico  
et Aegypto, quodque alarum cohortiumque, et auxilia regum  
20 in unum conducta apud Melitenen, qua tramittere Euphraten  
parabat. tum lustratum rite exercitum ad contionem vocat 3  
orditurque magnifica de auspiciis imperatoris rebusque a se  
gestis, adversa in inscitiam Paeti declinans, multa auctoritate,  
quae viro militari pro facundia erat.

25 27. Mox iter L. Lucullo quondam penetratum, apertis  
quae vetustas obsaepserat, pergit. et venientes Tiridatis  
Vologesisque de pace legatos haud aspernatus, adiungit iis  
centuriones cum mandatis non inmitibus; nec enim adhuc  
eo ventum, ut certamine extremo opus esset. multa Romanis 2  
30 secunda, quaedam Parthis evenisse, documento adversus  
superbiam. proinde et Tiridati conducere intactum vastationibus  
regnum dono accipere, et Vologesen melius societate  
Romana quam damnis mutuis genti Parthorum consulturum.

3 scire, quantum intus discordiarum quamque indomitas et  
praeferoces nationes regeret : contra imperatori suo immotam  
4 ubique pacem et unum id bellum esse. simul consilio  
terrorem adicere, et megistanas Armenios, qui primi a nobis  
defecerant, pellit sedibus, castella eorum excindit, plana edita, 5  
validos invalidosque pari metu complet.

28. Non infensum nec cum hostili odio Corbulonis nomen  
etiam barbaris habebatur, eoque consilium eius fidum  
credebant. ergo Vologeses neque atrox in summam, et  
quibusdam praefecturis indutias petit : Tiridates locum diem- 10  
2 que conloquio poscit. tempus propinquum, locus, in quo  
nuper obsessae cum Paeto legiones erant, barbaris delectus  
est ob memoriam laetioris sibi rei, Corbuloni non vitatus, ut  
3 dissimilitudo fortunae gloriam augeret. neque infamia Paeti  
angebatur, quod eo maxime patuit, quia filio eius tribuno 15  
ducere manipulos atque operire reliquias malae pugnae  
4 imperavit. die pacta Tiberius Alexander, inlustris eques  
Romanus, minister bello datus, et Vinicianus Annius, gener  
Corbulonis, nondum senatoria aetate set pro legato quintae  
legioni inpositus, in castra Tiridatis venere, honori eius ac ne 20  
metueret insidias tali pignore ; viceni dehinc equites adsumpti.  
5 et viso Corbulone rex prior equo desiluit ; nec cunctatus  
Corbulo, sed pedes uterque dexteras miscuere.

29. Exim Romanus laudat iuvenem omissis praecipitibus  
2 tuta et salutaria capessentem. ille de nobilitate generis 25  
multum praefatus, cetera temperanter adiungit : iturum  
quippe Romam laturumque novum Caesari decus, non  
3 adversis Parthorum rebus supplicem Arsaciden. tum placuit  
Tiridaten ponere apud effigiem Caesaris insigne regium nec  
nisi manu Neronis resumere ; et conloquium osculo finitum. 30  
4 dein paucis diebus interiectis, magna utrimque specie, inde  
eques compositus per turmas et insignibus patriis, hinc  
agmina legionum stetero fulgentibus aquilis signisque et

simulacris deum in modum templi: medio tribunal sedem 5  
curulem et sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat. ad quam 6  
progressus Tiridates, caesis ex more victimis, sublatum capiti  
diadema imagini subiecit, magnis apud cunctos animorum  
5 motibus, quos augebat insita adhuc oculis exercituum Roma-  
norum caedes aut obsidio. at nunc versos casus: iturum 7  
Tiridaten ostentui gentibus, quanto minus quam captivum?

30. Addidit gloriae Corbulo comitatem epulasque; et  
rogitante rege causas, quotiens novum aliquid adverterat, ut  
10 initia vigiliarum per centurionem nuntiari, convivium bucina  
dimitti et structam ante augurale aram subdita face accendi,  
cuncta in maius attollens admiratione prisca moris adfecit.  
postero die spatium oravit, quo tantum itineris aditurus 2  
fratres ante matremque viseret; obsidem interea filiam tradit  
15 litterasque supplices ad Neronem.

31. Et digressus Pacorum apud Medos, Vologesen Ecba-  
tanis repperit, non incuriosum fratris; quippe et propriis  
nuntiis a Corbulone petierat, ne quam imaginem servitii  
Tiridates perferret neu ferrum traderet aut complexu provin-  
20 cias optinentium arceretur foribusve eorum adsisteret, tan-  
tusque ei Romae quantus consulibus honor esset. scilicet 2  
externae superbiae sueto non inerat notitia nostri, apud quos  
vis imperii valet, inania tramittuntur.

32. Eodem anno Caesar nationes Alpium maritimarum in  
25 ius Latii transtulit. equitum Romanorum locos sedilibus 2  
plebis anteposuit apud circum; namque ad eam diem indis-  
creti inibant, quia lex Roscia nihil nisi de quattuordecim  
ordinibus sanxit. spectacula gladiatorum idem annus habuit 3  
pari magnificentia ac priora; sed feminarum inlustrium  
30 senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt.

33. C. Laecanio M. Licinio consulibus acriore in dies  
cupidine adigebatur Nero promiscas scaenas frequentandi.  
nam adhuc per domum aut hortos cecinerat Iuvenalibus

*saturnus - shoemaker*  
*adigo - compel*      *abavus - great-grandson*

A.D. 64.]

LIBER XV. CAP. 29-35.

ludis, quos ut parum celebres, et tantae voci angustos sper-  
nebat. non tamen Romae incipere ausus Neapolim quasi  
Graecam urbem delegit: inde initium fore, ut transgressus  
in Achaiam insignesque et antiquitus sacras coronas adeptus  
maiore fama studia civium eliceret. ergo contractum oppi-  
danorum vulgus, et quos e proximis coloniis et municipiis  
eius rei fama acciverat, quique Caesarem per honorem aut  
varios usus sectantur, etiam militum manipuli, theatrum  
Neapolitanorum complent.

34. Illic, plerique ut arbitrabantur, triste, ut ipse, providum  
potius et secundis numinibus evenit: nam egresso qui  
adfuerat populo vacuum et sine ullius noxa theatrum con-  
lapsum est. ergo per compositos cantus grates dis atque  
ipsam recentis casus fortunam celebrans petiturusque maris  
Hadriae traiectus apud Beneventum interim consedit, ubi  
gladiatorium munus a Vatinio celebre edebatur. Vatinus  
inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta fuit, sutrinae tabernae  
alumnus, corpore detorto, facetiis scurrilibus; primo in con-  
tumelias adsumptus, dehinc optimi cuiusque criminatione  
eo usque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi etiam malos  
praemineret.

35. Eius munus frequentanti Neroni ne inter voluptates  
quidem a sceleribus cessabatur. isdem quippe illis diebus  
Torquatus Silanus mori adigitur, quia super Iuliae familiae  
claritudinem divum Augustum abavum ferebat. iussi accu-  
satores obicere prodigum largitionibus, neque aliam spem  
quam in rebus novis esse: quin eum inter libertos habere,  
quos ab epistulis et libellis et rationibus appellet, nomina  
summae curae et meditamenta. tum intimus quisque liber-  
torum vincti abreptique, et cum damnatio instaret, bra-  
chiorum venas Torquatus interscidit. secutaque Neronis  
oratio ex more, quamvis sontem et defensionem merito diffisum  
victurum tamen fuisse, si clementiam iudicis expectasset.

36. Nec multo post, omissa in praesens Achaia (causae in incerto fuere) urbem revisit, provincias Orientis, maxime Aegyptum, secretis imaginationibus agitans. dehinc edicto 2  
testificatus non longam sui absentiam et cuncta in re  
5 publica perinde immota ac prospera fore, super ea profectione adiit Capitolium. illic veneratus deos, cum Vestae 3  
quoque templum inisset, repente cunctos per artus tremens, seu numine exterrente, seu facinorum recordatione numquam timore vacuus, deseruit inceptum, cunctas sibi curas amore  
10 patriae leviores dicitans. vidisse maestos civium vultus, 4  
audire secretas querimonias, quod tantum *itineris* aditurus esset, cuius ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent, sueti adversum fortuita aspectu principis refoveri. ergo ut in 5  
privatis necessitudinibus proxima pignora praevalerent, ita in  
15 *re publica* populum Romanum vim plurimam habere parendumque retinenti. haec atque talia plebi volentia fuere, 6  
voluptatum cupidine et, quae praecipua cura est, rei frumentariae angustias, si abesset, metuenti. senatus et primores 7  
in incerto erant, procul an coram atrocior haberetur: dehinc,  
20 quae natura magnis timoribus, deterius credebant quod evenerat.

37. Ipse quo fidem acquireret nihil usquam perinde laetum sibi, publicis locis struere convivia totaque urbe quasi domo uti. et celeberrimae luxu famaue epulae fuere, quas 2  
25 a Tigellino paratas ut exemplum referam, ne saepius eadem prodigientia narranda sit. igitur in stagno Agrippae fabricatus est ratem, cui superpositum convivium navium aliarum tractu moveretur. naves auro et ebore distinctae, remigesque 4  
exoleti per aetates et scientiam libidinum componebantur.  
30 volucres et feras diversis e terris et animalia maris Oceano 5  
abusque petiverat. crepidinibus stagni lupanaria adstabant 6  
inlustribus feminis completa, et contra scorta visebantur nudis corporibus. iam gestus motusque obsceni; et post- 7

quam tenebrae incedebant, quantum iuxta nemoris et cir-  
8 cumiecta tecta consonare cantu et luminibus clarescere. ipse  
per licita atque illicita foedatus nihil flagitii reliquerat quo  
corruptior ageret, nisi paucos post dies uni ex illo contamina-  
torum grege (nomen Pythagorae fuit) in modum solemnium 5  
coniugiorum denupsisset.

38. Sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam  
utrumque auctores prodidere), sed omnibus quae huic urbi 10  
per violentiam ignium acciderunt gravior atque atrocior.  
2 initium in ea parte circi ortum, quae Palatino Caelioque  
montibus contigua est, ubi per tabernas, quibus id merci-  
monium inerat quo flamma alitur, simul coeptus ignis et  
statim validus ac vento citus longitudinem circi corripuit. 15  
3 neque enim domus munimentis saeptae vel templa muris  
4 cincta aut quid aliud morae interiacebat. impetu pervaga-  
tum incendium plana primum, deinde in edita adsurgens et  
rursus inferiora populando, anteiit remedia velocitate mali et  
obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque et illuc flexis atque 20  
5 enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit. ad hoc lamenta  
paventium feminarum, fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae [aetas],  
quique sibi quique aliis consulebant, dum trahunt invalidos  
aut opperiuntur, pars mora, pars festinans, cuncta impédie-  
6 bant. et saepe, dum in tergum respectant, lateribus aut 25  
fronte circumveniebantur, vel si in proxima evaserant, illis  
quoque igni correptis, etiam quae longinqua crediderant in  
7 eodem casu reperiebant. postremo, quid vitarent quid  
peterent ambigui, complere vias, sterni per agros; quidam  
amissis omnibus fortunis, diurni quoque victus, alii caritate 30  
suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis patente effugio  
8 interiere. nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multo-  
rum minis restinguere prohibentium, et quia alii palam faces

iaciebant atque esse sibi auctorem vociferabantur, sive ut raptus licentius exercerent seu iussu.

39. Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens non ante in urbem regressus est quam domui eius, qua Palatium et Maecenatis  
5 hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. sed solacium populo exturbato ac profugo campum Martis 2 ac monumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefecit et subitaria aedificia exstruxit, quae multitudinem inopem  
10 acciperent; subvectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis pretiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos. quae quamquam popularia in inritum cadebant, quia per- 3 vaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium, prae-  
15 sentia mala vetustis cladibus adsimulantem.

40. Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus, prorutis per inmensum aedificiis, ut continuae violentiae campus et velut vacuum caelum occurreret. necdum 2 positus metus, et rediit haut levius rursum grassatus ignis  
20 patulis magis urbis locis, eoque strages hominum minor: delubra deum et porticus amoenitati dicatae latius procidere. plusque infamiae id incendium habuit, quia praediis Tigellini 3 Aemilianis proruperat; videbaturque Nero condendae urbis novae et cognomento suo appellandae gloriam quaerere.  
25 quippe in regiones quattuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum 4 quattuor integrae manebant, tres solo tenus deiectae: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semusta.

41. Domuum et insularum et templorum, quae amissa sunt, numerum inire laud promptum fuerat: sed vetustissima reli-  
30 gione, quod Servius Tullius Lunae, et magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat, aedesque Statoris Iovis vota Romulo Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus populi Romani exusta; iam opes tot 2



victoriis quaesitae et Graecarum artium decora, exim monu-  
menta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta, *ut* quamvis in tanta  
resurgentis urbis pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint,  
3 quae reparari nequibant. fuere qui adnotarent XIII Kal.  
Sextiles principium incendii huius ortum, quo et Senones 5  
4 captam urbem inflammaverint. alli eo usque cura progressi  
sunt, ut totidem annos mensesque et dies inter utraque in-  
cendia numerent.

42. Ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis extruxitque  
domum, in qua haud proinde gemmae et aurum miraculo 10  
essent, solita pridem et luxu vulgata, quam arva et stagna et  
in modum solitudinum hinc silvae inde aperta spatia et  
prospectus, magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere,  
quibus ingenium et audacia erat etiam, quae natura denega-  
2 visset, per artem temptare et viribus principis inludere. namque 15  
ab lacu Averno navigabilem fossam usque ad ostia Tiberina  
depressuros promiserant, squalenti litore aut per montes  
3 adversos. neque enim aliud umidum gignendis aquis occurrit  
quam Pomptinae paludes: cetera abrupta aut arentia, ac si  
4 perrumpi possent, intolerandus labor nec satis causae. Nero 20  
tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno  
iuga conisus est, manentque vestigia inritae spei.

43. Ceterum urbis quae domui supererant non, ut post  
Gallica incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed  
dimensis vicorum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis cohibitaque 25  
aedificiorum altitudine ac patefactis areis additisque por-  
ticibus, quae frontem insularum protegerent. eas porticus  
Nero sua pecunia exstructurum purgatasque areas dominis  
3 traditurum pollicitus est. addidit praemia pro cuiusque ordine  
et rei familiaris copiis, finivitque tempus intra quod effectis 30  
4 domibus aut insulis apiscerentur. ruderi accipiendi Ostienses  
paludes destinabat, utique naves, quae frumentum Tiberi  
subvectavissent, onustae rudere decurrerent, aedificiaque ipsa

certa sui parte sine trabibus saxo Gabino Albanove solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus impervius est; iam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta quo largior et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes, et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in  
 5 propatulo quisque haberet; nec communione parietum, sed propriis quaeque muris ambirentur. ea ex utilitate accepta 5  
 decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. erant tamen qui crederent, veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde  
 10 solis vapore perrumperentur; at nunc patulam latitudinem et nulla umbra defensam graviore aestu ardescere.

44. Et haec quidem humanis consiliis providebantur. mox petita dis piacula aditique Sibullae libri, ex quibus supplicatum Volcano et Cereri Proserpinaeque, ac propitiata Iuno per  
 15 matronas, primum in Capitolio, deinde apud proximum mare, unde hausta aqua templum et simulacrum deae perspersum est; et sellisternia ac pervigilia celebrare feminae quibus mariti erant. sed non ope humana, non largitionibus prin- 2  
 cipis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin iussum  
 20 incendium crederetur. ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit 3  
 reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. auctor nominis eius Christus 4  
 Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaue in praesens exitiabilis  
 25 superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocita aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. igitur primum 5  
 correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis  
 30 convicti sunt. et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum 6  
 tergis connecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat 7

et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi  
8 vel curriculo insistens. unde quamquam adversus sontes et  
novissima exempla meritos miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non  
utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur.

45. Interea conferendis pecuniis pervastata Italia, pro- 5  
vinciae eversae sociique populi et quae civitatum liberae  
2 vocantur. inque eam praedam etiam di cessere, spoliatis in  
urbe templis egestoque auro, quod triumphis, quod votis  
omnis populi Romani aetas prospere aut in metu sacraverat.  
3 enimvero per Asiam atque Achaiam non dona tantum sed 10  
simulacra numinum abripiebantur, missis in eas provincias  
4 Acrato ac Secundo Carrinate. ille libertus cuicumque flagitio  
promptus, hic Graeca doctrina ore tenus exercitus animum  
5 bonis artibus non inbuerat. ferebatur Seneca, quo invidiam  
sacrilegii a semet averteret, longinqui ruris secessum oravisse, 15  
et postquam non concedebatur, ficta valetudine, quasi aeger  
6 nervis, cubiculum non egressus. tradidere quidam venenum  
ei per libertum ipsius, cui nomen Cleonicus, paratam iussu  
Neronis vitatumque a Seneca proditione liberti seu propria  
formidine, dum persimplici victu et agrestibus pomis, ac si 20  
sitis admoneret, profluente aqua vitam tolerat.

46. Per idem tempus gladiatores apud oppidum Praeneste  
temptata eruptione praesidio militis, qui custos adesset,  
coerciti sunt, iam Spartacum et vetera mala rumoribus  
ferente populo, ut est novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque. 25  
2 nec multo post clades rei navalis accipitur, non bello (quippe  
haud alias tam immota pax), sed certum ad diem in Cam-  
paniam redire classem Nero iusserat, non exceptis maris  
3 casibus. ergo gubernatores, quamvis saeviente pelago, a  
Formiis movere: et gravi Africo, dum promunturium Miseni 30  
superare contendunt, Cumanis litoribus in tacti triremium  
plerasque et minora navigia passim amiserunt.

47. Fine anni vulgantur prodigia, imminentium malorum

nuntia. vis fulgurum non alias crebrior, et sidus cometes, sanguine inlustri semper Neroni expiatum. bicipites hominum 2 aliorumve animalium partus abiecti in publicum aut in sacrificiis, quibus gravidas hostias inmolari mos est, reperti. 5 et in agro Placentino viam propter natus vitulus, cui caput in 3 crure esset; secutaque haruspicum interpretatio, parari rerum humanarum aliud caput, sed non fore validum neque occultum, quia in utero repressum aut iter iuxta editum sit.

48. Ineunt deinde consulatum Silius Nerva et Atticus 10 Vestinus, coepta simul et aucta coniuratione, in quam certatim nomina dederant senatores eques miles, feminae etiam, cum odio Neronis, tum favore in C. Pisonem. is Calpurnio 2 genere ortus ac multas insignesque familias paterna nobilitate complexus, claro apud vulgum rumore erat per virtutem aut 15 species virtutibus similes. namque facundiam tuendis civibus 3 exercebat, largitionem adversum amicos, et ignotis quoque comi sermone et congressu; aderant etiam fortuita, corpus procerum, decora facies: sed procul gravitas morum aut 4 voluptatum parsimonia; levitati ac magnificentiae et ali- 20 quando luxu indulgebat. idque pluribus probabatur, qui in 5 tanta vitiorum dulcedine summum imperium non restrictum nec perseverum volunt.

49. Initium coniurationi non a cupidine ipsius fuit; nec tamen facile memoraverim, quis primus auctor, cuius instinctu 25 concitum sit quod tam multi sumpserunt. promptissimos 2 Subrium Flavum tribunum praetoriae cohortis et Sulpicium Asprum centurionem extitisse constantia exitus docuit: et Lucanus Annaeus Plautiusque Lateranus vivida odia intulere. Lucanum propriae causae accendebant, quod famam car- 3 30 minum eius premebat Nero prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimulatione: Lateranum consulem designatum nulla iniuria, sed amor rei publicae sociavit. at Flavius Scaevinus et 4 Afranius Quintianus, uterque senatorii ordinis, contra famam

5 sui principium tanti facinoris capessivere. nam Scaevino dissoluta luxu mens et proinde vita somno languida: Quintianus mollitia corporis infamis et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus contumelias ultum ibat.

50. Ergo dum scelera principis, et finem adesse imperio 5 deligendumque qui fessis rebus succurreret, inter se aut inter amicos iaciunt, adgregavere Claudium Senecionem, Cervarium Proculum, Vulcatium Araricum, Iulium Augurinum, Munatium Gratum, Antonium Natalem, Marcium Festum, equites 2 Romanos. ex quibus Senecio, e praecipua familiaritate 10 Neronis, speciem amicitiae etiam tum retinens eo pluribus periculis conflictabatur; Natalis particeps ad omne secretum 3 Pisoni erat; ceteris spes ex novis rebus petebatur. adscitae sunt super Subrium et Sulpicium, de quibus rettuli, militares manus, Gavius Silvanus et Staius Proximus tribuni cohortium 15 praetoriarum, Maximus Scaurus et Venetus Paulus centuriones. sed summum robur in Faenio Rufo praefecto videbatur, quem vita famaue laudatum per saevitiam inpu- 4 dicitiamque Tigellinus in animo principis anteibat, fatigabatque criminationibus ac saepe in metum adduxerat quasi 20 adulterum Agrippinae et desiderio eius ultioni intentum. 5 igitur ubi coniuratis praefectum quoque praetorii in partes descendisse crebro ipsius sermone facta fides, promptius iam 6 de tempore ac loco caedis agitabant. et cepisse impetum Subrius Flavus ferebatur in scaena canentem Neronem 25 adgrediendi, aut cum ardente domo per noctem huc illuc cursaret incustoditus. hic occasio solitudinis, ibi ipsa frequentia tanti decoris testis pulcherrima animum exstimulaverant, nisi impunitatis cupido retinuisset, magnis semper conatibus adversa. 30

51. Interim cunctantibus prolatantibusque spem ac metum Epicharis quaedam, incertum quonam modo sciscitata (neque illi ante ulla rerum honestarum cura fuerat), accendere et

arguere coniuratos, ac postremum lentitudinis eorum pertaesa  
 et in Campania agens primores classiariorum Misenensium  
 labefacere et conscientia inligare conisa est tali initio. erat 2  
 navarchus in ea classe Volusius Proculus, occidendae matris  
 5 Neroni inter ministros, non ex magnitudine sceleris pro-  
 vectus, ut rebatur. is mulieri olim cognitus, seu recens orta 3  
 amicitia, dum merita erga Neronem sua et quam in inritum  
 cecidissent aperit adicitque questus et destinationem vindictae,  
 si facultas oreretur, spem dedit posse impelli et plures  
 10 conciliare: nec leve auxilium in classe, crebras occasiones,  
 quia Nero multo apud Putcolos et Misenum maris usu  
 laetabatur. ergo Epicharis plura et omnia scelera principis 4  
 orditur; neque senatui *neque populo* quidquam manere. sed 5  
 provisum quonam modo poenas eversae rei publicae daret:  
 15 accingeretur modo navare operam et militum acerrimos  
 ducere in partes, ac digna pretia exspectaret; nomina tamen  
 coniuratorum reticuit. unde Proculi indicium inritum fuit, 6  
 quamvis ea quae audierat ad Neronem detulisset. accita 7  
 quippe Epicharis et cum indice composita nullis testibus  
 20 innisum facile confutavit. sed ipsa in custodia retenta est, 8  
 suspectante Nerone haud falsa esse etiam quae vera non  
 probabantur.

52. Coniuratis tamen metu proditionis permotis placitum  
 maturare caedem apud Baias in villa Pisonis, cuius amoeni-  
 25 tate captus Caesar crebro ventitabat balneasque et epulas  
 mibat omissis excubiis et fortunae suae mole. sed abnuit 2  
 Piso, invidiam praetendens, si sacra mensae dique hospitales  
 caede qualiscumque principis cruentarentur: melius apud  
 urbem in illa invisā et spoliis civium exstructa domo vel in  
 30 publico patratturos quod pro re publica suscepissent. haec in 3  
 commune, ceterum timore occulto, ne L. Silanus eximia  
 nobilitate disciplinaque C. Cassii, apud quem educatus erat,  
 ad omnem claritudinem sublatus imperium invaderet, prompte

daturis, qui a coniuratione integri essent quique miserarentur  
4 Neronem tamquam per scelus interfectum. plerique Vestini  
quoque consulis acre ingenium vitavisse Pisonem credi-  
derunt, ne ad libertatem oreretur, vel delecto imperatore alio  
5 sui muneris rem publicam faceret. etenim expers coniu- 5  
rationis erat, quamvis super eo crimine Nero vetus adversum  
insontem odium expleverit.

53. Tandem statuere circensium ludorum die, qui Cereri  
celebratur, exsequi destinata, quia Caesar rarus egressu  
domoque aut hortis clausus ad ludicra circi ventitabat promp- 10  
2 tioresque aditus erant laetitia spectaculi. ordinem insidiis  
composuerant, ut Lateranus, quasi subsidium rei familiari  
oraret, deprecabundus et genibus principis accidens pro-  
sterneret incautum premeretque, animi validus et corpore  
3 ingens. tum iacentem et impeditum tribuni et centuriones 15  
et ceterorum, ut quisque audentiae habuisset, adcurrerent  
trucidarentque, primas sibi partes expostulante Scaevino, qui  
pugionem templo Salutis sive, ut alii tradidere, Fortunae  
Ferentino in oppido detraxerat gestabatque velut magno operi  
4 sacrum. interim Piso apud aedem Cereris opperiretur, unde 20  
eum praefectus Faenius et ceteri accitum ferrent in castra,  
comitante Antonia Claudii Caesaris filia ad eliciendum vulgi  
5 favorem, quod C. Plinius memorat. nobis quoquo modo  
traditum non occultare in animo fuit, quamvis absurdum  
videretur aut inanem ad spem Antoniam nomen et pericu- 25  
lum commodavisse, aut Pisonem notum amore uxoris alii  
matrimonio se obstrinxisse, nisi si cupido dominandi cunctis  
adfectibus flagrantior est.

54. Sed mirum quam inter diversi generis ordinis, aetatis  
sexus, dites pauperes taciturnitate omnia cohibita sint, donec 30  
proditio coepit e domo Scaevini; qui pridie insidiarum multo  
sermone cum Antonio Natale, dein regressus domum testa-  
mentum obsignavit, promptum vagina pugionem, de quo

supra rettuli, vetustate obtusum increpans, asperari saxo et in mucronem ardescere iussit eamque curam liberto Milicho mandavit. simul adfluentius solito convivium initum, servorum carissimi libertate et alii pecunia donati. atque ipse 2  
3  
5 maestus et magnae cogitationis manifestus erat, quamvis laetitiam vagis sermonibus simularet. postremo vulneribus 4  
ligamenta quibusque sistitur sanguis parare eundem Milichum monet, sive gnarum coniurationis et illuc usque fidum, seu nescium et tunc primum arreptis suspicionibus, ut plerique  
10 tradidere de consequentibus. nam cum secum servilis 5  
animus praemia perfidiae reputavit simulque immensa pecunia et potentia obversabantur, cessit fas et salus patroni et acceptae libertatis memoria. etenim uxoris quoque consilium 6  
adsumpserat muliebri ac deterius: quippe ultro metum  
15 intentabat, multosque adstitisse liberos ac servos, qui eadem viderint; nihil profuturum unius silentium; at praemia penes unum fore, qui indicio praevenisset.

55. Igitur coepta luce Milichus in hortos Servilianos pergit; et cum foribus arceretur, magna et atrocia adferre  
20 dictitans deductusque ab ianitoribus ad libertum Neronis Epaphroditum, mox ab eo ad Neronem, urgens periculum, graves coniuratos et cetera quae audierat coniectaverat docet. telum quoque in necem eius paratum ostendit accirique reum 2  
iussit. is raptus per milites et defensionem orsus, ferrum, 3  
25 cuius argueretur, olim religione patria cultum et in cubiculo habitum ac fraude liberti subreptum respondit, tabulas testamenti saepius a se et incustodita dierum observatione signatas. pecunias et libertates servis et ante dono datas, sed ideo tunc 4  
largius, quia tenui iam re familiari et instantibus creditoribus  
30 testamento diffideret. enimvero liberales semper epulas 5  
struxisse, vitam amoenam et duris iudiciis parum probatam. fomenta vulneribus nulla iussu suo, sed quia cetera palam vana obiecisset, adiungere crimen, cuius se pariter indicem et



6 testem faceret. adicit dictis constantiam; incusat ultro  
intestabilem et conscleratum, tanta vocis ac vultus securitate,  
ut labaret indicium, nisi Milichum uxor admonuisset Anto-  
nium Natalem multa cum Scaevino ac secreta conlocutum et  
esse utrosque C. Pisonis intimos. 5

56. Ergo accitur Natalis, et diversi interrogantur, quisnam  
is sermo, qua de re fuisset. tum exorta suspicio, quia non  
2 congruentia responderant, inditaque vincla. et tormentorum  
aspectum ac minas non tulere: prior tamen Natalis, totius  
conspirationis magis gnarus, simul arguendi peritior, de 10  
Pisone primum fatetur, deinde adicit Annaeum Senecam,  
sive internuntius inter eum Pisonemque fuit, sive ut Neronis  
gratiam pararet, qui infensus Senecae omnes ad eum oppri-  
3 mendum artes conquirebat. tum cognito Natalis indicio  
Scaevinus quoque pari inbecillitate, an cuncta iam patefacta 15  
4 credens nec ullum silentii emolumentum, edidit ceteros. ex  
quibus Lucanus Quintianusque et Senecio diu abnuere: post  
promissa impunitate corrupti, quo tarditatem excusarent,  
Lucanus Aciliam matrem suam, Quintianus Glitium Gallum,  
Senecio Annium Pollionem, amicorum praecipuos, nomi- 20  
navere.

57. Atque interim Nero recordatus Volusii Proculi indicio  
Epicharim attineri ratusque muliebre corpus impar dolori  
2 tormentis dilacerari iubet. at illam non verbera, non ignes,  
non ira eo acrius torquentium, ne a femina spernerentur, 25  
pervicere quin obiecta denegaret. sic primus quaestionis  
3 dies contemptus. postero cum ad eosdem cruciatus retra-  
heretur gestamine sellae (nam dissolutis membris insistere  
nequibat), vincolo fasciae, quam pectori detraxerat, in modum  
laquei ad arcum sellae restricto indidit cervicem et corporis 30  
pondere conisa tenuem iam spiritum expressit, clariore  
exemplo libertina mulier in tanta necessitate alienos ac prope  
ignotos protegendo, cum ingenui et viri et equites Romani

senatoresque intacti tormentis carissima suorum quisque  
pignorum proderent. non enim omittebant Lucanus quoque 4  
et Senecio et Quintianus passim conscios edere, magis  
magisque pavido Nerone, quamquam multiplicatis excubiis  
5 semet saepsisset.

58. Quin et urbem, per manipulos occupatis moenibus,  
incesso etiam mari et amne, velut in custodiam dedit. volita- 2  
bantque per fora, per domos, rura quoque et proxima  
municipiorum pedites equitesque, permixti Germanis, quibus  
10 fidebat princeps quasi externis. continua hinc et vincta 3  
agmina trahi ac foribus hortorum adiacere. atque ubi dicen-  
dam ad causam introissent, laetatum erga coniuratos et  
fortuitus sermo et subiti occursus, si convivium, si specta-  
culum simul inissent, pro crimine accipi, cum super Neronis  
15 ac Tigellini saevas percontationes Faenius quoque Rufus  
violenter urgueret, nondum ab indicibus nominatus, et quo  
fidem inscitiae pararet, atrox adversus socios. idem Subrio 4  
Flavo adsistenti adnuentique, an inter ipsam cognitionem  
destringeret gladium caedemque patraret, renuit infregitque  
20 impetum iam manum ad capulum referentis.

59. Fuere qui prodita coniuratione, dum auditur Milichus,  
dum dubitat Scaevinus, hortarentur Pisonem pergere in castra  
aut rostra escendere studiaque militum et populi temptare. si 2  
conatibus eius conscii adgregarentur, secuturos etiam integros ;  
25 magnamque motae rei famam, quae plurimum in novis consiliis  
valeret. nihil adversum haec Neroni provisum. etiam fortes 3  
viros subitis terreri, nedum ille scaenicus, Tigellino scilicet cum  
paelicibus suis comitante, arma contra cieret. multa ex- 4  
periendo confieri, quae segnibus ardua videantur. frustra  
30 silentium et fidem in tot consciorum animis et corporibus  
sperare ; cruciatui aut praemio cuncta pervia esse. venturos 5  
qui ipsum quoque vincirent, postremo indigna nece adficerent.  
quanto laudabilius periturum, dum amplectitur rem publicam, 6

dum auxilia libertati invocat. miles potius deesset et plebes  
desereret, dum ipse maioribus, dum posteris, si vita prae-  
7 riperetur, mortem adprobaret. inmotus his et paululum in  
publico versatus, post domi secretus, animum adversum  
suprema firmabat, donec manus militum adveniret, quos 5  
Nero tirones aut stipendiis recentes delegerat: nam vetus  
8 miles timebatur tamquam favore inbutus. obiit abruptis  
brachiorum venis. testamentum foedis adversus Neronem  
adulationibus amoris uxoris dedit, quam degenerem et sola  
corporis forma commendatam amici matrimonio abstulerat. 10  
9 nomen mulieris Atria Galla, priori marito Domitius Silus:  
hic patientia, illa inpudicitia Pisonis infamiam propagavere.

60. Proximam necem Plautii Laterani consulis designati  
Nero adiungit, adeo propere, ut non complecti liberos, non  
2 illud breve mortis arbitrium permetteret. raptus in locum servili- 15  
bus poenis sepositum manu Statii tribuni trucidatur, plenus  
constantis silentii nec tribuno obiciens eandem conscientiam.  
3 Sequitur caedes Annaei Senecae, laetissima principi, non  
quia coniurationis manifestum compererat, sed ut ferro  
4 grassaretur, quando venenum non processerat. solus quippe 20  
Natalis et hactenus prompsit, missum se ad aegrotum Senecam,  
uti viseret conquerereturque cur Pisonem aditu arceret:  
melius fore, si amicitiam familiari congressu exercuissent.  
5 et respondisse Senecam sermones mutuos et crebra con-  
loquia neutri conducere; ceterum salutem suam incolumitate 25  
6 Pisonis inniti. haec ferre Gavius Silvanus tribunus praetoriae  
cohortis, et audita Natalis suaeque responsa nosceret percontari  
7 Senecam iubetur. is forte an prudens ad eum diem ex Cam-  
pania remeaverat quartumque apud lapidem suburbano rure  
8 substiterat. illo propinqua vespera tribunus venit et villam 30  
globis militum saepsit; tum ipsi cum Pompeia Paulina uxore  
et amicis duobus epulanti mandata imperatoris edidit.

61. Seneca missum ad se Natalem conquestumque nomine

Pisonis quod a visendo eo prohiberetur, seque rationem  
valetudinis et amorem quietis excusavisse respondit. cur 2  
salutem privati hominis incolumitati suae anteferebat, causam  
non habuisse; nec sibi promptum in adulationes ingenium.  
5 idque nulli magis gnarum quam Neroni, qui saepius liber- 3  
tatem Senecae quam servitium expertus esset. ubi haec 4  
a tribuno relata sunt Poppaea et Tigellino coram, quod erat  
saevienti principi intimum consiliorum, interrogat an Seneca  
voluntariam mortem pararet. tum tribunus nulla pavoris 5  
10 signa, nihil triste in verbis eius aut vultu deprensus confir-  
mavit. ergo regredi et indicere mortem iubetur. tradit Fabius 6  
Rusticus non eo quo venerat itinere redisse tribunum, sed  
flexisse ad Faenium praefectum, et expositis Caesaris iussis  
an obtemperaret interrogavisse, monitumque ab eo ut ex-  
15 sequeretur, fatali omnium ignavia. nam et Silvanus inter 7  
coniuratos erat augebatque scelera, in quorum ultionem  
consenserat. voci tamen et aspectui pepercit intromisitque  
ad Senecam unum ex centurionibus, qui necessitatem ultimam  
denuntiaret.

20 62. Ille interritus poscit testamenti tabulas; ac denegante  
centurione conversus ad amicos, quando meritis eorum referre  
gratiam prohiberetur, quod unum iam et tamen pulcherrimum  
habeat, imaginem vitae suae relinquere testatur, cuius si  
memores essent, bonarum artium famam fructum constantis  
25 amicitiae laturos. simul lacrimas eorum modo sermone, 2  
modo intentior in modum coercentis, ad firmitudinem revocat,  
rogitans ubi praecepta sapientiae, ubi tot per annos meditata  
ratio adversum imminencia? cui enim ignaram fuisse saevitiam 3  
Neronis? neque aliud superesse post matrem fratremque inter-  
30 fectos quam ut educatoris praeceptorisque necem adiceret.

63. Ubi haec atque talia velut in commune disseruit, com-  
plectitur uxorem, et paululum adversus praesentem fortitu-  
dinem mollitus rogat oratque temperaret dolori neu aeternum

susciperet, sed in contemplatione vitae per virtutem actae  
2 desiderium mariti solaciis honestis toleraret. illa contra sibi  
quoque destinatam mortem adseverat manumque percussoris  
3 exposcit. tum Seneca gloriae eius non adversus, simul  
amore, ne sibi unice dilectam ad iniurias relinqueret, 'vitae' 5  
inquit 'delenimenta monstraveram tibi, tu mortis decus mavis :  
4 non invidebo exemplo. sit huius tam fortis exitus constantia  
penes utrosque par, claritudinis plus in tuo fine.' post quae  
5 eodem ictu brachia ferro exsolvunt. Seneca, quoniam senile  
corpus et parco victu tenuatum lenta effugia sanguini praebe- 10  
6 bat, crurum quoque et poplitum venas abrumpit; saevisque  
cruciatibus defessus, ne dolore suo animum uxoris infringeret  
atque ipse visendo eius tormenta ad inpatientiam delaberetur,  
7 suadet in aliud cubiculum abscedere. et novissimo quoque mo-  
mento suppeditante eloquentia advocatis scriptoribus pleraque 15  
tradidit, quae in vulgus edita eius verbis invertere supersedeo.

64. At Nero nullo in Paulinam proprio odio, ac ne glisceret  
invidia crudelitatis, *iubet* inhiberi mortem. hortantibus mili-  
tibus servi libertique obligant brachia, premunt sanguinem,  
2 incertum an ignarae. nam, ut est vulgus ad deteriora 20  
promptum, non defuere qui crederent, donec inplacabilem  
Neronem timuerit, famam sociatae cum marito mortis  
petivisse, deinde oblata mitiore spe blandimentis vitae  
evictam: cui addidit paucos postea annos, laudabili in  
maritum memoria et ore ac membris in eum pallorem 25  
albentibus, ut ostentui esset multum vitalis spiritus egestum.  
3 Seneca interim, durante tractu et lentitudine mortis, Statium  
Annaeum, diu sibi amicitiae fide et arte medicinae proba-  
tum, orat provisum pridem venenum, quo damnati publico  
Atheniensium iudicio extinguerentur, promeret: adlatumque 30  
hausit frustra, frigidus iam artus et cluso corpore adversum  
4 vim veneni. postremo stagnum calidae aquae introiit,  
respergens proximos servorum addita voce, libare se liquorem

illum Iovi liberatori. exim balneo inlatus et vapore eius 5  
exanimatus, sine ullo funeris sollemni crematur. ita codicillis 6  
praescripserat, cum etiam tum praedives et praepotens supremis  
suis consuleret.

5 65. Fama fuit Subrium Flavum cum centurionibus occulto  
consilio, neque tamen ignorante Seneca, destinavisse, ut post  
occisum opera Pisonis Neronem Piso quoque interficeretur  
tradereturque imperium Senecae, quasi insontibus claritudine  
virtutum ad summum fastigium delecto. quin et verba Flavi 2  
10 vulgabantur, non referre dedecori, si citharoedus demoveretur  
et tragoedus succederet, quia ut Nero cithara, ita Piso tragico  
ornatu canebat.

66. Ceterum militaris quoque conspiratio non ultra fefellit,  
accensis indicibus ad prodendum Faenium Rufum, quem  
15 eundem conscium et inquisitorem non tolerabant. ergo 2  
instanti minitantiue renidens Scaevinus neminem ait plura  
scire quam ipsum, hortaturque ultro redderet tam bono  
principi vicem. non vox adversum ea Faenio, non silentium, 3  
sed verba sua praepediens et pavoris manifestus, ceterisque  
20 et maxime Cervario Proculo equite Romano ad convincen-  
dum eum cōsis, iussu imperatoris a Cassio milite, qui ob  
insigne corporis robur adstabat, corripitur vinciturque.

67. Mox eorundem indicio Subrius Flavius tribunus per-  
vertitur, primo dissimilitudinem morum ad defensionem  
25 trahens, neque se armatum cum inermibus et effeminatis  
tantum facinus consociaturum; dein, postquam urguebatur,  
confessionis gloriam amplexus. interrogatusque a Nerone, 2  
quibus causis ad oblivionem sacramenti processisset, ‘oderam  
te’ inquit, ‘nec quisquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari  
30 meruisti. odisse coepi, postquam parricida matris et uxoris, 3  
auriga et histrio et incendiarius extitisti.’ ipsa rettuli verba, 4  
quia non, ut Senecae, vulgata erant, nec minus nosci decebat  
militaris viri sensus incompertos et validos. nihil in illa coniu- 5

ratione gravius auribus Neronis accidisse constitit, qui ut faciendis sceleribus promptus, ita audiendi quae faceret insolens  
6 erat. poena Flavi Veiano Nigro tribuno mandatur. is proximo in agro scrobem effodi iussit, quam visam Flavius ut humilem et angustam increpans, circumstantibus militibus, 5  
7 'ne hoc quidem' inquit 'ex disciplina.' admonitusque fortiter 8 protendere cervicem, 'utinam' ait 'tu tam fortiter ferias!' et ille multum tremens, cum vix duobus ictibus caput amputavisset, saevitiam apud Neronem iactavit, sesquiplaga interfectum a se dicendo. 10

68. Proximum constantiae exemplum Sulpicius Asper centurio prae-buit, percontanti Neroni, cur in caedem suam conspiravisset, breviter respondens non aliter tot flagitiis eius  
2 subveniri potuisse. tum iussam poenam subiit. nec ceteri centuriones in perpetiendis suppliciis degeneravere: at non 15  
Faenio Rufo par animus, sed lamentationes suas etiam in testamentum contulit.

3 Opperiebatur Nero, ut Vestinus quoque consul in crimina traheretur, violentum et infensum ratus: sed ex coniuratis consilia cum Vestino non miscuerant quidam vetustis in eum 20  
simultatibus, plures, quia praecipitem et insociabilem credebant. ceterum Neroni odium adversus Vestinum ex intima  
4 sodalitate coeperat, dum hic ignaviam principis penitus cognitam despicit, ille ferociam amici metuit, saepe asperis facetiis inlusus, quae ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui 25  
5 memoriam relinquunt. accesserat repens causa, quod Vestinus Statiliam Messalinam matrimonio sibi iunxerat, haud nescius inter adulteros eius et Caesarem esse.

69. Igitur non crimine, non accusatore existente, quia speciem iudicis induere non poterat, ad vim dominationis 30  
conversus Gerellanium tribunum cum cohorte militum inmittit iubetque praevenire conatus consulis, occupare velut arcem eius, opprimere delectam iuventutem, quia Vestinus imminentes

foro aedes decoraque servitia et pari aetate habebat. cuncta 2  
eo die munia consulis impleverat conviviumque celebrabat,  
nihil metuens an dissimulando metu, cum ingressi milites  
vocari eum a tribuno dixere. ille nihil demoratus exsurgit 3  
5 et omnia simul properantur: clauditur cubiculo, praesto est  
medicus, abscinduntur venae, vicens adhuc balneo infertur,  
calida aqua mersatur, nulla edita voce qua semet miseraretur.  
circumdanti interim custodia qui simul discubuerant, nec nisi 4  
provecta nocte omissi sunt, postquam pavorem eorum, ex  
10 mensa exitium opperientium, et imaginatus et inridens Nero  
satis supplicii luisse ait pro epulis consularibus.

70. Exim Annaei Lucani caedem imperat. is profluente  
sanguine ubi frigescere pedes manusque et paulatim ab  
extremis cedere spiritum fervido adhuc et compote mentis  
15 pectore intellegit, recordatus carmen a se compositum, quo  
vulneratum militem per eius modi mortis imaginem obisse  
tradiderat, versus ipsos rettulit, eaque illi suprema vox fuit.  
Senecio posthac et Quintianus et Scaevinus non ex priore 2  
vitae mollitia, mox reliqui coniuratorum periere, nullo facto  
20 dictove memorando.

71. Sed compleri interim urbs funeribus, Capitolium  
victimis; alius filio, fratre alius aut propinquo aut amico  
interfectis, agere grates deis, ornare lauru domum, genua  
ipsius advolvi et dextram osculis fatigare. atque ille gaudium 2  
25 id credens Antonii Natalis et Cervarii Proculi festinata  
indicia impunitate remuneratur. Milichus praemiis ditatus 3  
conservatoris sibi nomen, Graeco eius rei vocabulo, ad-  
sumpsit. e tribunis Gavius Silvanus, quamvis absolutus, 4  
sua manu cecidit; Statius Proximus veniam, quam ab  
30 imperatore acceperat, vanitate exitus corrumpit. exuti dehinc 5  
tribunatu \* \* Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos,  
Stadius Domitius, quasi principem non quidem odissent, sed  
tamen existimarentur. Novio Prisco per amicitiam Senecae, 6



et Glitio Gallo atque Annio Pollioni infamatis magis quam  
 7 convictis data exilia. Priscum Artoria Flaccilla coniunx  
 comitata est, Gallum Egnatia Maximilla, magnis primum  
 et integris opibus, post ademptis, quae utraque gloriam eius  
 8 auxere. pellitur et Rufrius Crispinus occasione coniurationis, 5  
 sed Neroni invisus, quod Poppaeam quondam matrimonio  
 9 tenuerat. Verginium *Flavum et Musonium* Rufum claritudo  
 nominis expulit: nam Verginius studia iuvenum eloquentia,  
 10 Musonius praeceptis sapientiae fovebat. Cluidieno Quietio,  
 Iulio Agrippae, Blitio Catulino, Petronio Prisco, Iulio Altino, 10  
 velut in agmen et numerum, Aegaei maris insulae permit-  
 11 tuntur. at Caedicia uxor Scaevini et Caesennius Maximus  
 Italia prohibentur, reos fuisse se tantum poena experti.  
 12 Acilia mater Annaei Lucani sine absolutione, sine supplicio  
 dissimulata.

15

72. Quibus perpetratis Nero et contione militum habita  
 bina nummum milia viritim manipularibus divisit addiditque  
 sine pretio frumentum, quo ante ex modo annonae utebantur.  
 2 tum, quasi gesta bello expositurus, vocat senatum et  
 triumphale decus Petronio Turpiliano consulari, Cocceio 20  
 Nervae praetori designato, Tigellino praefecto praetorii  
 tribuit, Tigellinum et Nervam ita extollens, ut super trium-  
 phales in foro imagines apud Palatium quoque effigies eorum  
 3 sisteret. consularia insignia Nymphidio, *qui* quia nunc  
 primum oblatus est, pauca repetam: nam et ipse pars 25  
 4 Romanarum cladium erit. igitur matre libertina ortus, quae  
 corpus decorum inter servos libertosque principum vulgaverat,  
 ex Gaio Caesare se genitum ferebat, quoniam forte quadam  
 habitu procerus et torvo vultu erat, sive Gaius Caesar,  
 scortorum quoque cupiens, etiam matri eius inludit \* \* \*

30

73. Sed Nero vocato senatu, oratione inter patres habita,  
 edictum apud populum et conlata in libros indicia confes-  
 2 sionesque damnatorum adiunxit. etenim crebro vulgi rumore

lacerabatur, tamquam viros *claros* et insontes ob invidiam aut metum extinxisset. ceterum coeptam adultamque et 3 revictam coniurationem neque tunc dubitavere quibus verum noscendi cura erat, et fatentur, qui post interitum Neronis 5 in urbem regressi sunt. at in senatu cunctis, ut cuique 4 plurimum maeroris, in adulationem demissis, Iunium Gallionem, Senecae fratris morte pavidum et pro sua incolumitate supplicem, increpuit Salienus Clemens, hostem et parricidam vocans, donec consensu patrum deterritus est, ne publicis 10 malis abuti ad occasionem privati odii videretur, neu composita aut oblitterata mansuetudine principis novam ad saevitiam retraheret.

74. Tum [decreta] dona et grates deis decernuntur propriusque honos Soli, cui est vetus aedes apud circum, 15 in quo facinus parabatur, qui occulta coniurationis numine retexisset; utque circensium Cerealium ludicrum pluribus equorum cursibus celebraretur mensisque Aprilis Neronis cognomentum acciperet; templum Saluti exstrueretur eo loci, ex quo Scaevinus ferrum prompserat. ipse eum 2 20 pugionem apud Capitolium sacravit inscripsitque Iovi Vindici: in praesens haud animadversum post arma Iulii Vindicis ad auspicium et praesagium futurae ultionis trahebatur. reperio in commentariis senatus Cerialem Anicium 3 consulem designatum pro sententia dixisse, ut templum 25 divo Neroni quam maturrime publica pecunia poneretur. quod quidem ille decernebat tamquam mortale fastigium 4 egresso et venerationem hominum merito, *sed ipse prohibuit, ne interpretatione* quorundam ad omen malum sui exitus verteretur: nam deum honor principi non ante habetur 30 quam agere inter homines desierit.

## LIBER XVI.

1. INLUSIT dehinc Neroni fortuna per vanitatem ipsius et promissa Caeselli Bassi, qui origine Poenus, mente turbida, nocturnae quietis imaginem ad spem haud dubiae rei traxit, vectusque Romam, principis aditum emergatus, expromit repertum in agro suo specum altitudine inmensa, quo magna 5 vis auri containeretur, non in formam pecuniae, sed rudi et 2 antiquo pondere. lateres quippe praegraves iacere, adstantibus parte alia columnis; quae per tantum aevi occulta 3 augendis praesentibus bonis. ceterum, ut coniectura demonstrabat, Dido Phoenissam Tyro profugam condita Carthagine 10 illas opes abdidiisse, ne novus populus nimia pecunia lasciviret, aut reges Numidarum, et alias infensi, cupidine auri ad bellum accenderentur.

2. Igitur Nero, non auctoris, non ipsius negotii fide satis spectata nec missis, per quos nosceret an vera adferrentur, 15 auget ultro rumorem mittitque qui velut paratam praedam 2 adveherent. dantur triremes et delectum remigium iuvandae festinationi. nec aliud per illos dies populus credulitate, prudentes 3 diversa fama tulere. ac forte quinquennale ludicrum secundo lustro celebrabatur, ab oratoribusque praecipua 20 4 materia in laudem principis adsumpta est. non enim solitas tantum fruges nec confusum metallis aurum gigni, sed nova ubertate provenire terram et obvias opes deferre deos, quaeque alia summa facundia nec minore adulatione servilia fingeant, securi de facilitate credentis. 25

3. Gliscebat interim luxuria spe inani, consumebanturque veteres opes quasi oblati, quas multos per annos prodigeret. quin et inde iam largiebatur; et divitiarum exspectatio inter 2 causas paupertatis publicae erat. nam Bassus, effosso agro

suo latisque circum arvis, dum hunc vel illum locum promissi specus adseverat, sequunturque non modo milites sed populus agrestium efficiendo operi adsumptus, tandem posita vae-cordia, non falsa antea somnia sua seque tunc primum elusum  
5 admirans, pudorem et metum morte voluntaria effugit. quidam vinctum ac mox dimissum tradidere ademptis bonis in locum regiae gazae.

4. Interea senatus, propinquo iam lustrali certamine, ut dedecus averteret, offert imperatori victoriam cantus adicitque  
10 facundiae coronam, qua ludicra deformitas velaretur. sed Nero nihil ambitu nec potestate senatus opus esse dictitans, se aequum adversum aemulos et religione iudicum meritam laudem adsecuturum, primo carmen in scaena recitat; mox flagitante vulgo ut omnia studia sua publicaret (haec enim  
15 verba dixere) ingreditur theatrum, cunctis citharae legibus obtemperans, ne fessus resideret, ne sudorem nisi ea quam indutui gerebat veste detergeret, ut nulla oris aut narium excrementa viserentur. postremo flexus genu et coetum 3 illum manu veneratus sententias iudicum opperiebatur  
20 ficto pavore. et plebs quidem urbis, histrionum quoque 4 gestus iuvare solita, personabat certis modis plausuque composito. crederes laetari, ac fortasse laetabantur per incuriam publici flagitii.

5. Sed qui remotis e municipiis severaque adhuc et  
25 antiqui moris retinente Italia, quique per longinquas provincias lascivia inexperti officio legationum aut privata utilitate advenerant, neque aspectum illum tolerare neque labori inhonesto sufficere, cum manibus nesciis fatiscerent, turbarent gnaros ac saepe a militibus verberarentur, qui  
30 per cuneos stabant, ne quod temporis momentum inpari clamore aut silentio segni praeteriret. constitit plerosque 2 equitum, dum per angustias aditus et ingruentem multitudinem enituntur, obtritos, et alios, dum diem noctemque

3 sedilibus continuant, morbo exitiabili correptos. quippe  
gravior inerat metus, si spectaculo defuissent, multis palam et  
pluribus occultis, ut nomina ac vultus, alacritatem tristitiam-  
4 que coëuntium scrutarentur. unde tenuioribus statim inro-  
gata supplicia, adversum inlustres dissimulatum ad praesens 5  
5 et mox redditum odium. ferebantque Vespasianum, tamquam  
somno coniveret, a Phoebo liberto increpitum aegreque  
meliorum precibus obtectum, mox imminentem perniciem  
maiore fato effugisse.

6. Post finem ludicri Poppaea mortem obiit, fortuita mariti 10  
iracundia, a quo gravida ictu calcis adflcta est. neque enim  
venenum crediderim, quamvis quidam scriptores tradant, odio  
magis quam ex fide: quippe liberorum cupiens et amoris  
2 uxoris obnoxius erat. corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus  
mos, sed regum externorum consuetudine differtum odoribus 15  
3 conditur tumuloque Iuliorum infertur. ductae tamen publicae  
exsequiae, laudavitque ipse apud rostra formam eius et quod  
divinae infantis parens fuisset aliaque fortunae munera pro  
virtutibus.

7. Mortem Poppaeae ut palam tristem, ita recordantibus 20  
laetam ob inpudicitiam eius saevitiamque, nova insuper  
invidia Nero complevit prohibendo C. Cassium officio ex-  
2 sequiarum, quod primum indicium mali. neque in longum  
dilatatum est, sed Silanus additur, nullo crimine, nisi quod  
Cassius opibus vetustis et gravitate morum, Silanus claritudine 25  
3 generis et modesta iuventa praecelebant. igitur missa ad  
senatum oratione removendos a re publica utrosque disseruit,  
obiectavitque Cassio quod inter imagines maiorum etiam  
C. Cassi effigiem coluisset, ita inscriptam 'duci partium':  
quippe semina belli civilis et defectionem a domo Caesarum 30  
4 quaesitam. ac ne memoria tantum infensi nominis ad discor-  
dias uteretur, adsumpsisse L. Silanum, iuvenem genere  
nobilem, animo praeruptum, quem novis rebus ostentaret.

8. Ipsum dehinc Silanum increpuit isdem quibus patrum  
eius Torquatum, tamquam disponderet iam imperii curas prae-  
ficeretque rationibus et libellis et epistulis libertos, inania simul  
et falsa : nam Silanus intentior metu et exitio patruī ad prae-  
15 cavendum exterritus erat. inducti posthac vocabulo indicum, 2  
qui in Lepidam, Cassii uxorem, Silani amitam, incestum cum  
fratris filio et diros sacrorum ritus confingerent. trahebantur 3  
ut conscii Volcatius Tullinus ac Marcellus Cornelius senatores  
et Calpurnius Fabatus eques Romanus ; qui appellato principe  
10 instantem damnationem frustrati, mox Neronem circa summa  
scelera distentum quasi minores evasere.

9. Tunc consulto senatus Cassio et Silano exilia decer-  
nuntur : de Lepida Caesar statueret. deportatusque in insulam 2  
Sardiniam Cassius, et senectus eius exspectabatur. Silanus,  
15 tamquam Naxum deveheretur, Ostiam amotus, post municipio  
Apuliae, cui nomen Barium est, clauditur. illic indignissimum 3  
casum sapienter tolerans a centurione ad caedem misso corri-  
pitur ; suadentique venas abrumpere, animum quidem morti  
destinatum ait, sed non remittere percussori gloriam ministerii.  
20 at centurio quamvis inermem, praevalidum tamen et irae quam 4  
timori propiorem cernens premi a militibus iubet. nec omisit 5  
Silanus obniti et intendere ictus, quantum manibus nudis  
valebat, donec a centurione vulneribus adversis tamquam in  
pugna caderet.

25 10. Haud minus prompte L. Vetus socrusque eius Sextia  
et Pollitta filia necem subiere, invisi principi tamquam vivendo  
exprobrarent interfectum esse Rubellium Plautum, generum  
L. Veteris. sed initium detegendae saevitiae praebuit inter- 2  
versis patroni rebus ad accusandum transgrediens Fortunatus  
30 libertus, adscito Claudio Demiano, quem ob flagitia vinctum  
a Vetere Asiae pro consule exsolvit Nero in praemium  
accusationis. quod ubi cognitum reo, seque et libertum pari 3  
sorte componi, Formianos in agros digreditur. illic eum

4 milites occulta custodia circumdant. aderat filia, super  
ingruens periculum longo dolore atrox, ex quo percussores  
Plauti mariti sui viderat; cruentamque cervicem eius am-  
plexa servabat sanguinem et vestes respersas, vidua inpe-  
luctu continuo nec ullis alimentis nisi quae mortem arcerent. 5  
5 tum hortante patre Neapolim pergit. et quia aditu Neronis  
prohibebatur, egressus obsidens, audiret insontem neve con-  
sulatus sui quondam collegam dederet liberto, modo muliebri  
eiulatu, aliquando sexum egressa voce infensa clamitabat,  
donec princeps immobilem se precibus et invidiae iuxta 10  
ostendit.

11. Ergo nuntiat patri abicere spem et uti necessitate :  
simul adfertur parari cognitionem senatus et trucem senten-  
2 tiam. nec defuere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem  
Caesarem nuncupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere. 15  
3 quod aspernatus, ne vitam proxime libertatem actam novis-  
simo servitio foedaret, largitur in servos quantum aderat  
pecuniae; et si qua asportari possent, sibi quemque deducere,  
4 tris modo lectulos ad suprema retineri iubet. tunc eodem in  
cubiculo, eodem ferro abscindunt venas, properique et singulis 20  
vestibus ad verecundiam velati balineis inferuntur, pater filiam,  
avia neptem, illa utrosque intuens, et certatim precantes labenti  
animae celerem exitum, ut relinquerent suos superstites et  
5 morituros. servavitque ordinem fortuna, ac seniores prius, tum  
6 cui prima aetas extinguuntur. accusati post sepulturam de- 25  
cretumque ut more maiorum punirentur. at Nero intercessit,  
mortem sine arbitrio permittens: ea caedibus peractis ludibria  
adiciebantur.

12. P. Gallus eques Romanus, quod Faenio Rufo intimus  
et Veteri non alienus fuerat, aqua atque igni prohibitus est. 30  
2 liberto et accusatori praemium operae locus in theatro inter  
3 viatores tribunicios datur. et menses qui Aprilem eundemque  
Neroneum sequebantur, Maius Claudii, Iunius Germanici

vocabulis mutantur, testificante Cornelio Orfito, qui id censuerat, ideo Iunium mensem transmissum, quia duo iam Torquati ob scelera interfecti infaustum nomen Iunium fecissent.

5 13. Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam di tempestatibus et morbis insignivere. vastata Campania turbine ventorum qui villas arbusta fruges passim disiecit pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi; in qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur, nulla caeli intemperie, quae  
10 occurreret oculis. sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera 2 funeribus complebantur; non sexus, non aetas periculo vacua; servitia perinde et ingenua plebes raptim extinguere, inter coniugum et liberorum lamenta, qui dum adsident, dum deflent, saepe eodem rogo cremabantur. equitum senatorum- 3  
15 que interitus, quamvis promisci, minus flebiles erant, tamquam communi mortalitate saevitiâ principis praevenirent.

Eodem anno dilectus per Galliam Narbonensem Africam- 4 que et Asiam habiti sunt supplendis Illyricis legionibus, ex quibus aetate aut valetudine fessi sacramento solvebantur.  
20 cladem Lugdunensem quadragens sesterzio solatus est prin- 5 ceps, ut amissa urbi reponerent; quam pecuniam Lugdunenses ante obtulerant urbis casibus.

14. C. Suetonio Luccio Telesino consulibus Antistius Sosianus, factitatis in Neronem carminibus probrosis exilio,  
25 ut dixi, multatus, postquam id honoris indicibus tamque promptum ad caedes principem accepit, inquires animo et occasionum haud segnis Pammenem, eiusdem loci exulem et Chaldaeorum arte famosum eoque multorum amicitiiis innexum, similitudine fortunae sibi conciliat. ventitare ad 2  
30 eum nuntios et consultationes non frustra ratus, simul annuam pecuniam a P. Anteio ministrari cognoscit. neque 3 nescium habebat Anteium caritate Agrippinae invisum Neroni opesque eius praecipuas ad eliciendam cupidinem



4 eamque causam multis exitio esse. igitur interceptis Antei  
litteris, furatus etiam libellos, quibus dies genitalis eius  
et eventura secretis Pammenis occultabantur, simul repertis  
quae de ortu vitaeque Ostorii Scapulae composita erant, scribit  
ad principem magna se et quae incolumitati eius conducerent 5  
adlaturum, si brevem exilii veniam inpetravisset: quippe  
Anteium et Ostorium imminere rebus et sua Caesarisque  
5 fata scrutari. exim missae liburnicae advehiturque propere  
Sosianus. ac vulgato eius indicio inter damnatos magis  
quam inter reos Anteius Ostoriusque habebantur, adeo ut 10  
testamentum Antei nemo obsignaret, nisi Tigellinus auctor  
extitisset, monito prius Anteo ne supremas tabulas moraretur.  
6 atque ille hausto veneno, tarditatem eius perosus intercisus  
venis mortem adproperavit.

15. Ostorius longinquis in agris apud finem Ligurum id 15  
temporis erat. eo missus centurio, qui caedem eius matu-  
raret. causa festinandi ex eo oriebatur, quod Ostorius multa  
2 militari fama et civicam coronam apud Britanniam meritis,  
ingenti corporis robore armorumque scientia metum Neroni  
fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum semper et reperta nuper con- 20  
3 iuratione magis exterritum. igitur centurio, ubi effugia villae  
4 clausit, iussa imperatoris Ostorio aperit. is fortitudinem saepe  
adversum hostes spectatam in se vertit: et quia venae quam-  
quam interruptae parum sanguinis effundebant, hactenus  
manu servi usus, ut innotum pugionem extolleret, adpressit 25  
dextram eius iuguloque occurrit.

16. Etiam si bella externa et obitas pro re publica mortes  
tanta casuum similitudine memorarem, meque ipsum satias  
cepisset aliorumque taedium exspectarem, quamvis honestos  
2 civium exitus, tristes tamen et continuos aspernantium: at 30  
nunc patientia servilis tantumque sanguinis domi perditum  
fatigant animum et maestitia restringunt. neque aliam  
defensionem ab iis quibus ista noscentur exegerim, quam ne

oderim tam segniter pereuntes. ira illa numinum in res 3  
Romanas fuit, quam non, ut in cladibus exercituum aut  
captivitate urbium, semel edito transire licet. detur hoc 4  
inlustrum virorum posteritati, ut quo modo exsequiis a  
5 promisca sepultura separantur, ita in traditione supremorum  
accipiant habeantque propriam memoriam.

17. Paucos quippe intra dies eodem agmine Annaeus Mela,  
Cerialis Anicius, Rufrius Crispinus, C. Petronius cecidere,  
Mela et Crispinus equites Romani dignitate senatoria. nam 2  
10 hic quondam praefectus praetorii et consularibus insignibus  
donatus ac nuper crimine coniurationis in Sardiniam exactus,  
accepto iussae mortis nuntio semet interfecit. Mela, quibus 3  
Gallio et Seneca parentibus natus, petitione honorum ab-  
stinuerat per ambitionem praeposteram, ut eques Romanus  
15 consularibus potentia aequaretur; simul acquirendae pecuniae  
brevius iter credebat per procuraciones administrandis prin-  
cipis negotiis. idem Annaeum Lucanum genuerat, grande 4  
adiumentum claritudinis. quo interfecto dum rem familiarem  
eius acriter requirit, accusatorem concivit Fabium Romanum,  
20 ex intimis Lucani amicis. mixta inter patrem filiumque con- 5  
iurationis scientia fingitur, adsimilatis Lucani litteris: quas  
inspectas Nero ferri ad eum iussit, opibus eius inhians. at 6  
Mela, quae tum promptissima mortis via, exsolvit venas,  
scriptis codicillis quibus grandem pecuniam in Tigellinum  
25 generumque eius Cossutianum Capitonem erogabat, quo  
cetera manerent. additur codicillis, tamquam de iniquitate 7  
exitii querens ita scripsisset, se quidem mori nullis supplicii  
causis, Rufrium autem Crispinum et Anicium Cerialem  
vita frui infensos principi. quae composita credebantur 8  
30 de Crispino, quia interfectus erat, de Ceriale, ut inter-  
ficeretur. neque enim multo post vim sibi attulit, minore  
quam ceteri miseratione, quia proditam Gaio Caesari con-  
iurationem ab eo meminerant.

18. De C. Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt. nam illi dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitae transigebatur; utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique sua  
2 haurientium, sed erudito luxu. ac dicta factaque eius quanto 5 solutiora et quandam sui neglegentiam praeferentia, tanto  
3 gratius in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. pro consule tamen Bithyniae et mox consul vigentem se ac parem  
4 negotiis ostendit. dein revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum imitatione, inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, 10 elegantiae arbiter, dum nihil amoenum et molle adfluentia  
5 putat, nisi quod ei Petronius adprobavisset. unde invidia Tigellini quasi adversus aemulum et scientia voluptatum potio-  
rem. ergo crudelitatem principis, cui ceterae libidines cedebant, adgreditur, amicitiam Scaevini Petronio obiectans, 15 corrupto ad indicium servo ademptaque defensione et maiore parte familiae in vincla rapta.

19. Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiverat Caesar, et Cumas usque progressus Petronius illic attinebatur; nec tulit  
2 ultra timoris aut spei moras. neque tamen praeceps vitam 20 expulit, sed incisas venas, ut libitum, obligatas aperire rursum et adloqui amicos, non per seria aut quibus gloriam constan-  
3 tiae peteret. audiebatque referentes, nihil de immortalitate animae et sapientium placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles  
4 versus. servorum alios largitione, quosdam verberibus adfecit. 25 iniit et epulas, somno indulsit, ut quamquam coacta mors  
5 fortuitae similis esset. ne codicillis quidem, quod plerique pereuntium, Neronem aut Tigellinum aut quem alium potentium adulatus est: sed flagitia principis sub nominibus  
exoletorum feminarumque et novitatem cuiusque stupri per- 30 scripsit atque obsignata misit Neroni. fregitque anulum, ne mox usui esset ad facienda pericula.

20. Ambigenti Neroni, quonam modo noctium suarum

ingenia notescerent, offertur Silia, matrimonio senatoris haud ignota et ipsi ad omnem libidinem adscita ac Petronio perquam familiaris. agitur in exilium, tamquam non siluisset quae viderat pertuleratque, proprio odio. at Minucium 2  
5 Thermum praetura functum Tigellini simultatibus dedit, quia libertus Thermi quaedam de Tigellino criminose detulerat, quae cruciatibus tormentorum ipse, patronus eius nece inmerita luere.

21. Trucidatis tot insignibus viris, ad postremum Nero 10 virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano, olim utrisque infensus, et accedentibus causis in Thraseam, quod senatu egressus est, cum de Agrippina referretur, ut memoravi, quodque Iuvenalium ludicro parum spectabilem operam praeбuerat; eaque offensio altius pene- 15 trabat, quia idem Thrasea Patavi, unde ortus erat, ludis + cetastis a Troiano Antenore institutis habitu tragico cecinerat. die quoque, quo praetor Antistius ob probra in Neronem 2 composita ad mortem damnabatur, mitiora censuit obtinuitque; et cum deum honores Poppaeae decernuntur, sponte absens, 20 funeri non interfuerat. quae obliterari non sinebat Capito 3 Cossutianus, praeter animum ad flagitia praecipitem iniquus Thraseae, quod auctoritate eius concidisset, iuvantis Cilicum legatos, dum Capitonem repetundarum interrogant.

22. Quin et illa objectabat, principio anni vitare Thraseam 25 sollemne ius iurandum; nuncupationibus votorum non adesse, quamvis quindecimvirali sacerdotio praeditum: numquam pro salute principis aut caelesti voce immolavisse; adsiduum olim et indefessum, qui vulgaribus quoque patrum consultis semet fautorem aut adversarium ostenderet, triennio non 30 introisse curiam; nuperrimeque, cum ad coercendos Silanum et Veterem certatim concurreretur, privatis potius clientium negotiis vacavisse. secessionem iam id et partes et, si idem 2 multi andeant, bellum esse. 'ut quondam C. Caesarem'

inquit 'et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, et Thraseam avida  
3 discordiarum civitas loquitur. et habet sectatores vel potius  
satellites, qui nondum contumaciam sententiarum, sed habitum  
vultumque eius sectantur, rigidi et tristes, quo tibi lasciviam  
4 exprobrent. huic uni incolumitas tua sine *cura*, artes sine 5  
honore. prosperas principis res spernit: etiamne luctibus et  
5 doloribus non satiatur? eiusdem animi est Poppaeam divam  
non credere, cuius in acta divi Augusti et divi Iuli non iurare.  
6 spernit religiones, abrogat leges. diurna populi Romani per  
provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid 10  
7 Thrasea non fecerit. aut transeamus ad illa instituta, si potiora  
sunt, aut nova cupientibus auferatur dux et auctor. ista secta  
Tuberones et Favonios, veteri quoque rei publicae ingrata  
8 nomina, genuit. ut imperium evertant, libertatem praeferunt:  
9 si perverterint, libertatem ipsam adgredientur. frustra Cas- 15  
sium amovisti, si gliscere et vigere Brutorum aemulos passurus  
es. denique nihil ipse de Thrasea scripseris: disceptatorem  
10 senatum nobis relinque.' extollit ira promptum Cossutiani  
animum Nero adicitque Marcellum Eprium acri eloquentia.

23. At Baream Soranum iam sibi Ostorius Sabinus eques 20  
Romanus poposcerat reum ex proconsulatu Asiae, in qua  
offensiones principis auxit iustitia atque industria, et quia  
portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat vimque  
civitatis Pergamenae, prohibentis Acratum Caesaris libertum  
2 statuas et picturas evehere, inultam omiserat. sed crimini 25  
dabatur amicitia Plauti et ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad  
3 spes novas. tempus damnationi delectum, quo Tiridates  
accipiendo Armeniae regno adventabat, ut ad externa rumo-  
ribus intestinum scelus obscuraretur, an ut magnitudinem  
imperatoriam caede insignium virorum quasi regio facinore 30 .  
ostentaret.

24. Igitur omni civitate ad excipiendum principem spec-  
tandumque regem effusa, Thrasea occurso prohibitus non

demisit animum, sed codicillos ad Neronem composuit, requirens obiecta et expurgaturum adseverans, si notitiam criminum et copiam diluendi habuisset. eos codicillos Nero 2 properanter accepit, spe exterritum Thraseam scripsisse 5 per quae claritudinem principis extolleret suamque famam dehonestaret. quod ubi non evenit vultumque et spiritus et 3 libertatem insontis ultro extimuit, vocari patres iubet.

25. Tum Thrasea inter proximos consultavit, temptaretne defensionem an sperneret. diversa consilia adferebantur. 10 quibus intrari curiam placebat, securos esse de constantia eius disserunt; nihil dicturum nisi quo gloriam augeret. segnes et pavidos supremis suis secretum circumdare: 2 aspiceret populus virum morti obvium, audiret senatus voces quasi ex aliquo numine supra humanas: posse ipso miraculo 15 etiam Neronem permoveri. sin crudelitati insisteret, dis- tingui certe apud posteros memoriam honesti exitus ab ignavia per silentium pereuntium.

26. Contra qui opperiendum domui censebant, de ipso Thrasea eadem, sed ludibria et contumelias imminere: 20 subtraheret aures conviciis et probris. non solum Cossutianum aut Eprium ad scelus promptos: superesse qui forsitan manus ictusque per immanitatem ingesturi sint; etiam bonos metu sequi. detraheret potius senatui, quem 3 perornavisset, infamiam tanti flagitii, et relinqueret incertum 25 quid viso Thrasea reo decreturi patres fuerint. ut Neronem 4 flagitiorum pudor caperet, inrita spe agitari; multoque magis timendum ne in coniugem, in filiam, in cetera pignora eius saeviret. proinde intemeratus, inpollutus, quorum ves- 5 tigiis et studiis vitam duxerit, eorum gloria peteret finem. 30 aderat consilio Rusticus Arulenus, flagrans iuvenis, et 6 cupidine laudis offerebat se intercessurum senatus consulto: nam plebei tribunus erat. cohibuit spiritus eius Thrasea, ne 7 vana et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet.

sibi actam aetatem, et tot per annos continuum vitae ordinem non deserendum: illi initium magistratuum et integra  
8 quae supersint. multum ante secum expenderet, quod tali in tempore capessendae rei publicae iter ingrederetur. ceterum ipse, an venire in senatum deceret, meditationi suae 5 reliquit.

27. At postera luce duae praetoriae cohortes armatae templum Genetricis Veneris insedere. aditum senatus globus togatorum obsederat non occultis gladiis, dispersique per fora  
2 ac basilicas cunei militares. inter quorum aspectus et minas 10 ingressi curiam senatores, et oratio principis per quaestorem eius audita est: nemine nominatim compellato patres arguebat, quod publica munia desererent eorumque exemplo  
3 equites Romani ad segnitiam verterentur: etenim quid mirum e longinquis provinciis haud venire, cum plerique 15 adepti consulatum et sacerdotia hortorum potius amoenitati inservirent. quod velut telum corripuere accusatores.

28. Et initium faciente Cossutiano, maiore vi Marcellus summam rem publicam agi clamitabat; contumacia inferiorum  
2 lenitatem imperitantis deminui. nimium mites ad eam 20 diem patres, qui Thraseam desciscentem, qui generum eius Helvidium Priscum in isdem furoribus, simul Paconium Agrippinum, paterni in principes odii heredem, et Curtium Montanum detestanda carmina factitantem eludere inpune  
3 sinerent. requirere se in senatu consularem, in votis 25 sacerdotem, in iure iurando civem, nisi contra instituta et caerimonias maiorum proditorem palam et hostem Thrasea  
4 induisset. denique agere senatorem et principis obtrectatores protegere solitus veniret, censeret quid corrigi aut mutari vellet: facilius perlaturus singula increpantis vocem quam 30  
5 nunc silentium perferrent omnia damnantis. pacem illi per orbem terrae, an victorias sine damno exercituum displicere? ne hominem bonis publicis maestum, et qui fora theatra

templa pro solitudine haberet, qui minitaretur exilium suum, ambitionis pravae compotem facerent. non illi consulta 6 haec, non magistratus aut Romanam urbem videri. abrumperet vitam ab ea civitate, cuius caritatem olim, nunc et 5 aspectum exuisset.

29. Cum per haec atque talia Marcellus, ut erat torvus ac minax, voce vultu oculis ardesceret, non illa nota et celebritate periculorum sueta iam senatus maestitia, sed novus et altior pavor manus et tela militum cernentibus. 10 simul ipsius Thraseae venerabilis species obversabatur; et 2 erant qui Helvidium quoque miserarentur, innoxiae adfinitatis poenas daturum. quid Agrippino obiectum nisi tristem 3 patris fortunam? quando et ille perinde innocens Tiberii saevitia concidisset. enimvero Montanum probae iuventae 4 15 neque famosi carminis, quia protulerit ingenium, extorrem agi.

30. Atque interim Ostorius Sabinus, Sorani accusator, ingreditur orditurque de amicitia Rubellii Plauti, quodque proconsulatum Asiae Soranus pro claritate sibi potius adcommodatum quam ex utilitate communi egisset, alendo 20 seditiones civitatum. vetera haec: sed recens et quo 2 discrimini patris filiam conectebat, quod pecuniam magis dilargita esset. acciderat sane pietate Serviliae (id enim 3 nomen puellae fuit), quae caritate erga parentem, simul imprudentia aetatis, non tamen aliud consultaverat quam 25 de incolumitate domus, et an placabilis Nero, an cognitio senatus nihil atrox adferret. igitur accita est in senatum, 4 steteruntque diversi ante tribunal consulum grandis aevo parens, contra filia intra vicensimum aetatis annum, nuper marito Annio Pollione in exilium pulso viduata desolataque, 30 ac ne patrem quidem intuens, cuius onerasse pericula videbatur.

31. Tum interrogante accusatore, an cultus dotaless, an detractum cervici monile venum dedisset, quo pecuniam



faciendis magicis sacris contraheret, primum strata humi  
longoque fletu et silentio, post altaria et aram complexa  
'nullos' inquit 'impios deos, nullas devotiones, nec aliud  
infelicibus precibus invocavi, quam ut hunc optimum patrem  
5 tu, Caesar, vos, patres, servaretis incolumem. sic gemmas 2  
et vestes et dignitatis insignia dedi, quo modo si sanguinem  
et vitam poposcissent. viderint isti, antehac mihi ignoti, quo 3  
nomine sint, quas artes exerceant: nulla mihi principis  
mentio nisi inter numina fuit. nescit tamen miserrimus  
10 pater et, si crimen est, sola deliqui.'

32. Loquentis adhuc verba excipit Soranus proclamatque  
non illam in provinciam secum profectam, non Plauto per  
aetatem nosci potuisse, non criminibus mariti conexam:  
nimiae tantum pietatis ream separarent, atque ipse quam-  
15 cumque sortem subiret. simul in amplexus occurrentis filiae 2  
ruebat, nisi interiecti lictores utrisque obstitissent. mox  
datus testibus locus; et quantum misericordiae saevitia accu-  
sationis permoverat, tantum irae P. Egnatius testis concivit.  
cliens hic Sorani, et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum, 3  
20 auctoritatem Stoicae sectae praeferebat, habitu et ore ad  
exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo  
perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac libidinem occultans; quae  
postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, dedit exemplum praecavendi,  
quo modo fraudibus involutos aut flagitiis commaculatos,  
25 sic specie bonarum artium falsos et amicitiae fallaces.

33. Idem tamen dies et honestum exemplum tulit Cassii  
Asclepiodoti, qui magnitudine opum praecipuus inter Bithy-  
nos, quo obsequio florentem Soranum celebraverat, labentem  
non deseruit, exutusque omnibus fortunis et in exilium actus,  
30 aequitate deum erga bona malaque documenta. Thraseae 2  
Soranoque et Serviliae datur mortis arbitrium. Helvidius et 3  
Paconius Italia depelluntur. Montanus patri concessus est, 4  
praedicto ne in re publica haberetur. accusatoribus Eprio

et Cossutiano quinquagiens sestertium singulis, Ostorio duodeciens et quaestoria insignia tribuuntur.

34. Tum ad Thraseam in hortis agentem quaestor consulis missus vespascente iam die. inlustrium virorum femina- 2  
5 rumque coetum frequentem egerat, maxime intentus Demetrio Cynicae institutionis doctori, cum quo, ut coniectare erat intentione vultus et auditis, si qua clarius proloquebantur, de natura animae et dissociatione spiritus corporisque inquirebat, donec advenit Domitius Caecilianus ex intimis amicis et ei  
10 quid senatus censuisset exposuit. igitur flentes queritantesque 3  
‘qui aderant’ facessere propere Thrasea neu pericula sua miscere cum sorte damnati hortatur, Arriamque temptantem mariti suprema et exemplum Arriae matris sequi monet retinere vitam filiaeque communi subsidium unicum non  
15 adimere.

35. Tum progressus in porticum illic a quaestore reperitur, laetitiae propior, quia Helvidium generum suum Italia tantum arceri cognoverat. accepto dehinc senatus consulto 2  
Helvidium et Demetrium in cubiculum inducit; porrectisque  
20 utriusque brachii venis, postquam cruorem effudit, humum super spargens, proprius vocato quaestore ‘libamus’ inquit ‘Iovi liberatori. specta, iuvenis; et omen quidem di pro- 3  
hibeant, ceterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediat constantibus exemplis.’ post lentitudine  
25 exitus graves cruciatus adferente, obversis in Demetrium \* \* \*

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## APPENDIX TO BOOK XVI

### SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS BETWEEN THE END OF BOOK XVI AND THE DEATH OF NERO.

A. D. 66. Tiridates arrived in Rome and did homage to Nero for his kingdom, obtaining leave to rebuild Artaxata on his return.

In Judaea, the oppressive government of the procurator Gessius Florus provoked rebellion. The Upper City and the castle Antonia in Jerusalem were taken by the insurgents, and the Roman garrison massacred. Cestius Gallus, legatus of Syria, made an unsuccessful attempt to recover the city, and on his retreat was defeated with the loss of 6,000 men. The rebellion then spread over the whole of Judaea, Galilee, Samaria, Peraea, and Idumaea. Vespasian was then appointed as 'legatus Augusti propraetore' in Palestine, with a force of three legions and their complement of auxiliaries, and Syria with its usual garrison of four legions was given to C. Licinius Mucianus.

Before the close of the year Nero set out for Greece, leaving the freedman Helius, assisted by Polycleitus, with absolute power in Rome and Italy.

A. D. 67. Galilee and the North of Palestine were recovered by Vespasian, who was assisted by his son Titus.

In Greece, Nero altered the calendar so as to make all the chief games fall within that year, and competed in various contests in all of them. He pillaged statues and works of art from cities and temples, and put many wealthy Greeks to death to get their property. Corbulo was summoned from the East, and then ordered to despatch himself: the brothers Scribonius Rufus and Scribonius Proculus, governors of the German provinces, were sent for and executed without any fair trial: and similar executions were perpetrated by Helius in Italy.

In return for his entertainment there, Nero declared Greece free, and gave to the Senate the province of Sardinia in compensation.

A. D. 68. Vespasian effected the recovery of Gadara, Peraea, Idumaea, and Samaria successively, and was preparing for the siege of Jerusalem, when the death of Nero was reported, and in the resulting confusion active operations had to be suspended for a year and a half.

Nero returned early this year to Rome, which he entered after the fashion of a victorious Greek athlete, publicly displaying 1808 crowns of victory! Then, while visiting Naples, he heard that Julius Vindex, legatus of Gallia Lugdunensis, had taken up arms against him, supported by the richest and most central tribes of

## APPENDIX TO BOOK XVI

Gaul, the Arverni, Aedui, and Sequani, and was offering the principate to Galba, legatus of Hispania Tarraconensis. Galba had but one legion, and Vindex's 100,000 men were not Roman citizens; much therefore depended on the action of the legions of Germany. Verginius Rufus, legatus of the Upper Province, marched on Vesontio and there held a conference with Vindex. Through some misunderstanding, Verginius' men attacked the army of Vindex, killing 20,000 and dispersing the rest, on which Vindex slew himself. Verginius returned to his province, and refused to allow either himself or anyone else to be proclaimed emperor, except by nomination of senate and people.

At Rome, Nero's half-hearted and feeble attempts to cope with the reported insurrection were frustrated by the action of Nymphidius Sabinus, Tigellinus' colleague in the command of the praetorians. He persuaded them by a promise of 30,000 sesterces per man in Galba's name, and by a story that Nero had fled to Egypt, to give their support to Galba.

Nero found himself deserted by his body-guard, and fled to a villa of one of his freedmen, distant about four miles from Rome. The senate, emboldened by the decision of the praetorians in favour of Galba, proclaimed the latter emperor, and sentenced Nero to death, 'more maiorum'.

To avoid capture by the soldiers sent to take him, Nero committed suicide, June 9.

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of this sentence, cf. note on xiv 48, 4.

# NOTES

## ANNALS. BOOK XIII

**Ch. 1-5.** Commencement of the rule of Nero (Oct. 13—Dec. 31, A.D. 54).

1. Junius Silanus poisoned at the instigation of Agrippina : Narcissus forced to commit suicide. 2. Burrus and Seneca combine to prevent further murders and to counteract Agrippina and Pallas. 3. Funeral oration composed by Seneca for Nero : contrast in this respect between him and previous emperors. 4. Nero announces to the senate his future policy. 5. Decrees passed in spite of the opposition of Agrippina : her arrogance described.

**Ch. 6-9.** Outbreak of hostilities with Parthia on account of Armenia.

6. News of occupation of Armenia by the Parthians : opinion at Rome respecting Nero's capacity to conduct war. 7, 8. Troops raised in the East : retreat of the Parthians, and rejoicings at Rome : Domitius Corbulo appointed to the command. 9. Hostages given by Vologeses : jealousies between Corbulo and Umidius, legatus of Syria.

**Ch. 10.** Minor events at the end of the year.

**A. U. C. 808, A. D. 55.** **Claudius Nero Caesar Augustus,**  
**L. Antistius Vetus, coss.**

**Ch. 11-24.** Events at Rome.

11. Instances of modesty and lenity in Nero. 12. His mother's influence weakened through his passion for Acte. 13. Agrippina changes her tactics : her disdain of Nero's presents. 14. Removal of Pallas from office : Agrippina takes up the cause of Britannicus. 15-17. Britannicus poisoned by the agency of Julius Pollio and Locusta : his hurried funeral : feeling of the people and edict of Nero. 18. Nero rewards his friends, withdraws his mother's bodyguard, and removes her to another house. 19-22. Charge of treason preferred against Agrippina through the means of Junia Silana frustrated by her bold reply : the accusers punished. 23. Burrus and Pallas accused and acquitted. 24. Removal of the guard from the theatres.

**A. U. C. 809, A. D. 56.** **Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio, coss.**

**Ch. 25-30.** Events at Rome.

25. Nero's nocturnal riots : Montanus compelled to suicide : pantomimists expelled, and guards brought back to the theatres. 26, 27. Discussion on the misconduct of freedmen to their patrons. 28. Censure of a tribune, and restrictions imposed on tribunes

## TACITUS ANNALS: NOTES

and aediles generally. 29. Changes in the management of the public treasury: praefects of praetorian rank appointed. 30. Charges against certain persons: death of Caninius Rebilus and L. Volusius.

**A. U. C. 810, A. D. 57. Nero Caesar II, L. Calpurnius Piso, coss.**

**Ch. 31-33. Events at Rome.**

31. Amphitheatre erected: 'congiarium' distributed: financial measures: provincial governors forbidden to give shows. 32. Enactment for protection against slaves: Pomponia Graecina tried by her husband, Plautius Silvanus, for superstition. 33. Impeachment of Celer, Capito, Epirus Marcellus.

**A. U. C. 811, A. D. 58. Nero Caesar III, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, coss.**

**Ch. 34. Liberality of Nero to his colleague, a descendant of the great Corvinus, and to other impoverished nobles.**

**Ch. 35-41. Affairs in the East.**

35, 36. Severe measures of Corbulo to introduce and maintain discipline: defeat of Paccius Orfitus. 37, 38. Tiridates harasses Armenia and attempts negotiation with Corbulo: a conference proposed but frustrated by suspicion of treachery. 39. Volandum and two other forts stormed by Corbulo. 40, 41. Tiridates attempts in vain to delay the advance of Corbulo on Artaxata; which surrenders to him and is burnt: extravagant honours decreed at Rome.

**Ch. 42-52. Events in Rome.**

42, 43. Suillius is accused, attacks Seneca, and is condemned. 44. Crime of Octavius Sagitta. 45, 46. Attachment of Nero to Poppaea Sabina, whose character is described: her husband Otho removed to Lusitania. 47. Cornelius Sulla incurs Nero's displeasure, and is banished to Massilia. 48. Riots at Puteoli punished. 49. Paetus Thrasea blamed for speaking in the senate on a very trifling matter. 50, 51. Complaint made of the extortions of the publicani: bold proposal of Nero: measures taken. 52. Sulpicius Camerinus and Pompeius Silvanus tried and acquitted.

**Ch. 53-57. Events in Germany.**

53. Dam of Drusus completed: canal from the Saône to the Moselle projected. 54. The Frisii take possession of waste lands: conduct of their embassy in Rome. 55, 56. After their expulsion the same lands are invaded by the Ampsivarii; who treat with the legatus through their chief Boiocalus, but are deserted by the other Germans and finally annihilated. 57. Conflict between the Hermunduri and Chatti for the possession of a salt spring. Destructive fires break out on the land of the Ubii.

**Ch. 58. Ominous withering and subsequent recovery of the 'Ficus Ruminalis.'**

CH. 1, § 1. **Iunii Silani** : = M. Iunius Silanus, grandson of Julia the grand-daughter of Augustus.

**non quia . . . inritaverat** : the indicative in such sentences is more generally used only when what is stated is indeed a fact, but is denied to have produced the given result. Here it is implied that the fact is otherwise : so also xv 60, 3.

**dominationibus aliis**, 'an object of contempt to previous rulers.' The abstr. subst. used for concrete ; so ch. 2, 2 'imperatoria iuventa' ; ch. 42, 8 'subitae felicitati.' See Intr. II 1.

**pecudem auream**, 'a golden sheep,' wealthy but stupid. For 'pecus' cf. 'verecum in patria' (= 'in the native land of block-heads'), Juv. x 50.

§ 2. **L. Silano** : he was betrothed by Claudius to his daughter Octavia, but Agrippina wished the latter to marry Nero, and brought false accusations against him, which led to his expulsion from the Senate and loss of his praetorship, 48 A. D. In 49 A. D., on Agrippina's marriage with Claudius, he committed suicide (*Ann.* xii chs. 3, 4, 8).

**crebra vulgi fama**, 'there being widespread talk among the people.' See Intr. II 22.

**vixdum . . . egresso** : Nero was two months short of seventeen years of age.

**aetate composita**, 'a man of ripe age.' He was forty.

**quod tunc spectaretur**, 'the sort of thing then regarded as a qualification.'

Tacitus is writing in Trajan's reign, about fifty years after the accession of Nero, who was the last emperor descended from Augustus.

§ 3. **P. Celer** : mentioned again in ch. 33 as saved by Nero from the punishment he deserved for his extortion in Asia.

**Helius** : left in charge of Rome and Italy during Nero's tour in Greece, from the end of 66 to beginning of 68 A. D. He was subsequently put to death by Galba.

**rei familiari . . . inpositi**, 'stewards of the imperial estates in Asia.' Asia was a senatorial province, governed by a proconsul, but the emperor owned property there managed by his own agents ('procuratores'). Profits from these estates went to his private purse ('fiscus'). In *Ann.* iv 15, Tiberius has his *procurator* punished by the senate for encroaching on the proconsul's powers. Under Claudius, the powers of the *procuratores* in the provinces were materially extended (*Ann.* xii 60).

**apertius**, &c., 'too openly to escape the victim's notice.'

§ 4. **rettuli** : *Ann.* xii chs. 57, 65. She charged him with making illicit gains over the contract for connecting the river Liris and Lacus Fucinus, 52 A. D., and Narcissus opposed her machinations for the murder of Nero's aunt Lepida, 54 A. D.

**necessitate extrema**, 'the most rigorous compulsion,' i. e. by the threat of imminent execution.

**cuius**, &c., 'to whose vicious character, as yet repressed, his rapacity and prodigality made him remarkably congenial.'

*avaritiam*, 'greed in acquiring,' a quality not inconsistent with spendthrift habits.

CH. 2, § 1. *ibatur*: sc. 'ab Agrippina.'

\* Such a past indic. tense in apodosis, with a subjunct. in protasis, vividly marks the act as nearly fulfilled, but just prevented by the circumstance stated in the negatived protasis. Cf. '*labebar longius nisi me retinuisssem*,' Cic. *Leg.* i. 19. See Intr. II 38.

**Afranius Burrus** was promoted to the sole command of the praetorian cohorts, which previously had been under two commanders, at Agrippina's recommendation, in 51 A.D., and he held this appointment till his death (xiv 51, 1). Of his previous service nothing is known (the loss or mutilation of a hand is referred to xiii 14, 5); but he must have been of equestrian rank, and is called '*egregiae militaris famae*' in xii 42, 2.

**L. Annaeus Seneca** was born 4 A.D. at Corduba in Spain, whence his father M. Seneca the rhetorician migrated to Rome and rose to the rank of knight. The young Seneca had attained the quaestorship, and become the leading senatorial pleader by the time of Gaius; in the first year of Claudius' reign he was relegated to Corsica owing to Messalina's dislike; in 49 A.D. he was recalled through Agrippina's influence, made praetor, and instructor of Nero; and, with Burrus, was the young emperor's chief adviser and confidant. On Burrus' death, Seneca retired (xiv 52-56), and was subsequently forced to commit suicide for alleged participation in Piso's conspiracy (xv 60-65).

His chief works were ethical treatises, such as the *De Ira* and *De Beneficiis*; physical speculations, *Quaestiones Naturales*; 'epistles' on ethical subjects, addressed to Lucilius; nine tragedies on subjects taken from the Greek; and a satire on the deification of Claudius, the '*apocolocyntosis*,' relating how the deceased emperor was refused admittance to Olympus, and condemned to be not a god but a pumpkin (*κολοκύνη*), or, according to another version, to play for ever with a bottomless dice-box.

§ 2. *iuventae*: cf. '*dominationibus*,' ch. 1.

*rarum*: parenthetical. See Intr. II 59.

*in societate potentiae*, 'in a case where power is shared.'

*ex aequo*, 'equally' (*ἐξ ἴσου*).

*militaribus*, &c., 'in virtue of his soldierly profession and the uprightness of his character.'

*praeceptis*, &c., 'through his lessons in eloquence and dignified affability.' (C.)

*lubricam*, 'unsteady,' 'dangerous.'

*concessis*, 'such as public opinion allowed,' that did not cause grave scandal. Cf. xiv 21, 5.

*retinerent*, 'that they might keep under control.'

§ 3. *ferociam*, 'imperiousness.'

*in partibus*, 'on her side.' So also *partes* in ch. 18, 3.

*incestis*: because Agrippina was Claudius' niece.

*exitiosa*: Claudius' adoption of Nero ended in his own de-



struction because Agrippina poisoned him to secure her own son's accession in place of Britannicus.

§ 4. *infra*, 'submissive to.'

*tristi adrogantia*, 'by his sour arrogance.' Cf. ch. 23, 3.

*taedium sui moverat*, 'had rendered himself disliked.'

§ 5. *signum*, 'the watchword,' given by the emperor to the officer commanding the cohort on guard at the palace.

*optimae matris*: gen. of definition, sc. 'signum.'

§ 6. *flamonium Claudiale*. In the same way when Augustus was deified after death, Livia was made 'flaminica Augusti.'

*simul*, 'at the same sitting.'

*ensorium*: not 'the funeral of a censor,' but 'a funeral at public expense.' Under the Republic, the censors made the financial arrangements for state spectacles, and though with the establishment of the Principate the censorship as a separate magistracy disappeared, the adjective 'ensorium' is still applied to a funeral given at the public expense.

*mox*, 'shortly afterwards.' The funeral intervened between the preliminary arrangements drawn up for his 'cultus' as a god and the final ceremony of his apotheosis.

CH. 3, § 1. *antiquitatem*: according to tradition, the 'gens Claudia' was derived from the Sabine Attus Clausus, who migrated with his followers from Regillus to Rome, 504 B.C. (Livy, ii 16). Vergil follows a version making them some of the original 'Quirites' from Cures (*Aen.* vii 706).

*consulatus*, &c.: Suet. says that the 'gens Claudia' had produced 28 consuls, 5 dictators, 7 censors, and won 7 triumphs and 2 ovations *intentus*, 'serious.'

*liberalium artium*, 'literary accomplishments.' Among Claudius' works were an autobiography and a general history from the close of the civil wars, of which two books were composed in his youth at the suggestion of Livy. His writings are not extant.

*nihil . . . triste*, 'no disaster.'

*pronis animis audita*, 'met a favourable hearing.'

§ 2. *cultus*, 'polish.'

*amoenum*, &c., 'attractive, and suited to the taste of that time'; said disparagingly.

§ 3. *quibus otiosum*, &c., 'whom it amuses to compare past and present.'

§ 4. *summis oratoribus aemulus*: Cicero makes Atticus say of Julius Caesar, 'omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime' (*Brut.* 72, 252), and, in a letter to Cornelius Nepos, quoted by Suet. (*Jul.* 56), Cicero himself says that Caesar, in spite of his varied activities, surpassed those who devoted their whole time to oratory ('oratorum quem huic antepones eorum qui nihil aliud egerunt?'). Quintilian admires his vigour and elegance, but says he had not the leisure to cultivate his talent to its highest capacity.

*prompta*, &c., 'ready and fluent,' but avoiding unnecessary adornment as unworthy of his position.

§ 5. *artem*, &c., 'was proficient in the art of weighing out his words' (so as to say nothing that could compromise him), 'being besides (tum) full of vigour in the matter of his speech, or, if obscure, designedly so.' Tacitus' criticism in *Ann.* i 11, is hardly consistent with this: there he says, 'Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa ('hesitating') semper et obscura verba.'

§ 6. *turbata mens*, 'disordered intellect.'

*quotiens*: with subjunctive of repetition. See *Intr.* II 41.

*meditata*, 'a prepared speech.'

*requireres*, 'would you miss literary skill.' Suet. criticizes a work of his as composed 'magis inepte quam inelegranter.'

§ 7. *vividum animum*, 'vivacious intelligence.'

*caelare*, &c., substantival infinitives, in appos. to 'alia.'

*aliquando*, 'at times.' Later on poetical composition became his ruling passion: *Ann.* xiv 16, 1.

CH. 4, § 1. *patrum*, his salutation as 'imperator' by the soldiers had preceded the recognition of his succession by the senate; here, however, in addressing the 'patres,' he pays them the compliment of mentioning them first.

*consilia*, 'spoke of the advice and example he had for excellent government.' 'Consilia,' that of Seneca and Burrus: *exempla*, that of Augustus.

*neque iuventam*, 'his youth had not been steeped in civil wars' (like that of Augustus) 'nor in family enmities' (as was the case with Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius).

*iniurias*, 'injuries received.'

*adferre*, 'was bringing to the throne.'

§ 2. *formam*, 'sketched out the lines which his rule should follow.' He proposed to follow Augustus' policy. Cf. Suet. 'ex Augusti praescripto imperaturum se professus.'

*invidia*: nominative.

*non enim*, &c.: referring to the private trials so prevalent under Claudius, which appear to have taken cognisance of all kinds of charges. As to Nero's promise, see *Intr.* III 24; and for trials before Nero's private court, cf. ch. 23, 4; xiv 62, 6; xv 58, 3 and note on xv 73, 1.

*venale*: such as the traffic in the 'civitas' and other privileges, carried on by Messalina and the freedmen.

*discretam*, 'the affairs of his household and of the state should be kept strictly separate.'

§ 3. *antiqua munia*: see *Intr.* III 8.

*consulum*: i.e. deputations from the senatorial (here called 'publicae') provinces and from Italy would apply to the consuls in their judgement-seats in the comitium to be granted a hearing before the senate. Cf. ch. 48.

*mandatis exercitibus*, 'the armies entrusted to him.' This phrase also implies the emperor's supervision of the non-senatorial provinces.

CH. 5, § 1. **arbitrio senatus.** Under the Empire, legislation was effected by the emperor's edicts, or by decrees of the senate. The *comitia* had lost legislative powers, retaining only a few ceremonial functions; Intr. III 7.

**ne quis ad causam, &c.:** advocates were forbidden to take fees by the *lex Cincia*, carried by the tribune M. Cincius Alimentus, in B.C. 204. The law fell into disuse, but Augustus revived it, B.C. 17, making the penalty for violating it a fine of four times the amount taken. In A.D. 47, Claudius limited the fee legally permissible to 10,000 sesterces, about £83: disobedience involved the penalties of extortion ('*repetundae*'), *Ann.* xi 7, 8. Pliny, writing under Trajan, mentions that it was customary for the parties in a lawsuit to swear that they had entered into no undertaking to pay their advocates, but after the trial they might make a present to the extent of 10,000 sesterces ('*pecuniam dumtaxat decem milium*,' *Ep.* v 9, 4); however, what he says makes it evident that the restriction was usually evaded, and that the enforcement of the legal limit on the occasion he mentions was so unexpected as to cause surprise and consternation. (Evasion was possible through the fiction that the fee was a free gift. Cf. ch. 42, 5.)

§ 2. **Palatium:** the library of Apollo on the Palatine.

**ob id:** pointing forward to 'ut,' 'with the object that she might...'

**additis:** i.e. a new door made at the back of the room behind Nero's seat. Other readings are 'abditis' and 'obditis.'

§ 3. **Armeniorum:** probably a deputation in connexion with the events mentioned in the next chapter.

**escendere suggestum:** such an act would be an assertion of the regency to which she aspired and which in fact she at first partially exercised.

**parabat, nisi . . . admonuisset:** for the moods, cf. ch. ii 'lbatur, nisi . . . obviam issent.'

**ita, &c.,** 'thus by a pretext of filial attention a scandal was prevented.'

CH. 6, § 1. **Armeniam:** this kingdom was in possession of Tiridates, brother of the Parthian king Vologeses. Rhadamistus had murdered the preceding king, Mithridates, who had reigned under the suzerainty of Rome: he usurped the throne but could not hold it against the Parthians, especially as he was detested by the Armenians themselves. See Intr. V 1.

**saepe:** an exaggeration. The thing had happened twice.

§ 2. **vix septemdecim annos egressus:** at his accession Nero was two months short of seventeen years of age. This Eastern crisis occurred shortly after his seventeenth birthday.

**suscipere, &c.,** 'bear or stave off such a crisis.'

**magistros,** 'his tutors,' i.e. Burrus and Seneca.

§ 3. **invalidus,** 'incapacitated by age and indolence.'

**obtemperaturus,** 'bound to be swayed by.'

§ 4. **multarum . . . cognitos,** 'were known as men of manifold experience.' For this construction, see Intr. II 20.

**quantum**, &c., 'robur,' ripe or mature age. 'How far was the emperor too young (for the task), seeing that . . .'

**octavo decimo**: Pompeius was born B.C. 106, and served under his father in civil war in 87. His first independent command was in 84 B.C., when he led a force against the Marians.

**Octavianus**: he was nineteen in 44 B.C., the year of Julius Caesar's murder.

**civilia bella sustinuerint**: Pompeius and Octavianus had coped with the difficulties of civil war when mere youths; Nero might well be considered old enough to deal with the lighter task of a foreign war.

§ 5. **auspicia**: a general 'took auspices,' i.e. consulted the omens at a sacrifice, before leaving Rome to take up his command. 'Auspices' therefore metaphorically denote the inception and authorization of any undertaking. See Intr. III § 2.

**pleraque . . . geri**: this defies literal translation. 'In his exalted position, the management of war was rather a matter of initiation and advice than of actual service in the field.'

§ 6. **honestis an secus**, 'honourable or otherwise,' the adv. being co-ordinated with the adj. Cf. Intr. II 49.

**amota invidia**, 'setting jealousy aside' (either in himself or in his advisers).

**pecuniosum**, 'some moneyed man who owed his promotion to favour and intrigue.' ('Ambitus,' = canvassing votes, hence 'undue influence,' 'intrigue': cf. ch. 52, 3).

CH. 7, § 1. **iuventutem**: provincials of military age possessing the citizenship.

**quaesitam** = **conquisitam** [cf. Intr. II 28]. **Conquisitor**, 'recruiting officer.'

**supplendis**: Dative of Purpose.

**Agrippam**: Herod Agrippa II, son of Herod Agrippa I, king of Judaea, whose execution of St. James, imprisonment of St. Peter, and death are described in Acts xii. Agrippa II interviewed St. Paul at Caesarea in company with Festus, Acts xxv-xxvi. He had received the kingdom of Chalcis in Coele Syria from Claudius in 48 A.D., and four years later was transferred with the title of king to the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, to which Nero added part of Galilee, 54 A.D. He joined Vespasian (*Hist.* ii 81) and aided the Romans in the Jewish war, after which he lived at Rome till his death in the time of Trajan.

**Antiochum**: restored to the kingdom of Commagene, which in 18 A.D. had been made a province (*Ann.* ii 56), by Gaius, who added a part of Cilicia to his dominions. He was afterwards deposed by him, but was restored by Claudius, and rendered assistance to Corbulo in his Parthian and Armenian operations, and later on to Vespasian in the civil war and against the Jews. He was deposed in 72 A.D., his kingdom becoming a province, and ended his life at Rome.

**ultra intrarent**, 'take the initiative by invading.'

§ 2. **Aristobulus** was son of the Herod Agrippa named in this chapter. He received Coele Syria on his father's promotion and was the last vassal king of Lesser Armenia, which became a province under Vespasian.

**Sophene** was taken by Pompeius from Tigranes and thenceforward under Roman influence. Later on it was governed with Cappadocia.

**Sohaemus** supported Vespasian (*Hist.* ii 81), and took part in the Jewish war (*ib.* v 1).

**in tempore**, 'opportunistically.'

**Vologesi**: dat. after 'aemulus.' For the forms of Oriental names in Tacitus cf. *Intr.* II 62. \*

CH. 8, § 1. **in maius**, 'with exaggeration.'

**vestem triumphalem**: a purple tunic embroidered with golden palm-shoots (*palmata*), and a purple toga decorated with golden stars (*toga picta*), after the pattern of the dress of the Capitoline Jupiter. Under the Empire triumphs were not celebrated, but successful generals received triumphalia ornamenta, i. e. the right of wearing triumphal dress on public occasions.

**praeter suetam**, &c., 'adding to their usual flattery a real delight that ...'

**Corbulo** was sent by Claudius as *legatus* to Lower Germany in 47 A. D. He repressed the Frisii and was successfully dealing with a rebellion of the Chauci when he was recalled, out of jealousy, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* xi 18-20). He was now (54 A. D.) sent out as consular *legatus* of Cappadocia, with power over Galatia as well: in 60 A. D. he became *legatus* of Syria, and in 63 A. D. received general military command over Syria and the adjacent provinces and vassal kingdoms, an '*imperium maius*' compared to that given to Pompeius against the pirates (*Ann.* xv 25, 6). He was recalled from the East in 67 A. D., when Nero was visiting Greece, and compelled to commit suicide.

**retinendae**: the term implies that Armenia was permanently in the position of a kingdom under the suzerainty of Rome. Dative of Purpose, so also in xv 25, 3.)

§ 2. **Ummidius** succeeded C. Cassius about 51 A. D. as *legatus* of Syria, where he remained till his death in 60 A. D. (*Ann.* xiv 26), when Corbulo succeeded him.

**cohortibus alisque**: allied infantry and cavalry. Cf. 35, 4.

§ 3. **socii reges**, &c., 'the allied kings were ordered to obey (either commander) according to the requirements of the war.'

**promptiora**, &c., 'they gave a readier support to Corbulo.'

§ 4. **instaret**: this word is lacking in Med., but another MS. reads 'inserviret,' probably a gloss for the more Tacitean 'instaret.'

**Aegeae** was a free town on the gulf of Issus in Cilicia, outside Ummidius' province.

**corpore**, &c., 'a man of gigantic stature, of grandiloquent speech, and, besides his experience and ability, impressive through the prestige of mere externals.'

CH. 9, § 1. *ceterum*: this conjunction is employed to contrast their present joint action with their subsequent differences.

*solitam prioribus*: sc. 'regibus,' such as Phraates, who reigned from 37 B. C. to 2 B. C. and did homage to Augustus (*Ann.* ii 1).

§ 2. *ex commodo*, 'as might suit him best.'

*Arsacidarum*: the descendants of Arsaces, who had broken off from the Syrian monarchy of the Seleucidae, and made Parthia a separate kingdom about 250 B. C.

§ 3. *Insteius*: probably the 'praefectus castrorum' to Corbulo mentioned in ch. 39, 2.

*forte prior*, 'happening to be first on the spot, visiting the king on that business,' probably as one of the 'nuntii' of § 1.

*Arrius Varus* was subsequently a distinguished officer of Vespasian's.

§ 5. *recentem*: Med. has no preposition preceding this word. Some editors insert 'ob' instead of 'per,' and others read 'recentem gloria' (abl.), 'fresh from his renown.'

§ 6. *praerepta*, &c., 'he had been robbed (of the credit) of a result due to his own advice.'

*dux delectus*, &c., 'till his own appointment as general had changed his hopes to fear.'

§ 7. *fascibus*: the 'fasces' of the twelve lictors assigned to the emperor were to be decorated with laurel wreaths in honour of the success of his 'legati.' Both were named that they might have equal credit.

*in alios consules*: i.e. into the year 55 A. D. 'These events I have recounted together, though they extended (from 54 A. D.) into the next year.'

CH. 10, § 1. *Cn. Domitio*: his marriage with Agrippina took place in 28 A. D. He was descended from the L. Domitius Ahenobarbus who so fiercely opposed Julius Caesar, and through his mother Antonia was grandson of Octavia, Augustus' sister. At this date (54 A. D.) he had been dead some fifteen years. Suetonius brands him as 'omni parte vitae detestabilis.'

*Asconius Labeo* probably became Nero's guardian on the death of his stepfather Crispus Passienus (c. 44 A. D.). Nothing more is known of him.

*sibi*, 'for himself, he forbade the statues of solid silver or gold that were offered him' (lit. 'in opposition to those offering'). The dative 'sibi' is in contrast to those with 'petivit' above. *auro solidas*, like 'crateresque auro solidi,' Vergil, *Aen.* ii 765). For a similar Ablative of Material, cf. *Ann.* xii 16, 'moenia non saxo sed cratibus.'

§ 2. *veterem religionem*, 'the old religious associations of the 1st of January for the beginning of the year.' The year originally began on March 1, till 153 B. C., when the consuls began to enter on their year of office on January 1, and accordingly the civil year took that date for commencement, while March 1 was still regarded as the first day of the religious year.

§ 3. **neque recepti**: the consuls as presidents of the senate might refuse to entertain a charge brought before them. The 'princeps' also could always suppress an accusation by using his tribunician 'intercessio.'

**Carrinas** subsequently was sent into Achaia and Asia by Nero to plunder the temples, together with Acratus a freedman (*Ann.* xv 45).

**servo accusante**: however willing to give evidence, slaves had to confirm what they stated, under torture, otherwise it was not taken as legal evidence.

**equester**: for 'eques,' see *Intr.* II 2. The charge brought against Densus seems to be an attempt to revive the law of 'maiestas,' under which so many persons were condemned in Tiberius' reign. Prosecutions for 'maiestas laesa' seem to have ceased under Claudius, but were revived later on in Nero's reign (*Ann.* xiv 48, 3).

CH. 11, § 1. **Claudio Nerone**: Nero held this consulship for two months, and was again consul in 57 A.D. (ch. 31); in 58 A.D. (ch. 34); and in 60 A.D. (xiv 20).

**L. Antistio**: his full name was L. Antistius Vetus. He was legatus of Upper Germany later on (ch. 53); he fell into Nero's disfavour as being father-in-law of Rubellius Plautus, and accordingly committed suicide, 65 A.D. (*Ann.* xiv 58 and xvi 10-11).

**in acta**, &c.: this ceremony, distinct from that of taking the 'sacramentum' on the accession of a new 'princeps,' was the outcome of the oath taken by the Republican magistrates to observe the laws. The oath was taken annually on January 1, first by the magistrates and then by all the senators, the formula being '(se) nihil contra Caesaris acta (facturos).' 'Acta Caesaris' implied all measures passed under the reigning and preceding emperors.

**prohibuit**: this was to show that he treated his colleague as his equal in official life.

**levium**, &c., 'that elated by the fame arising even from slight things, he might go on at once ('continuaret') to nobler deeds.'

§ 2. **Plautium**: his expulsion was probably the act of the senate, but the power of pardon belonged in all cases to the 'princeps,' though Nero doubtless at this time followed Claudius in going through the form of consulting the senate in such cases.

**obstringens**, 'solemnly promising.'

**testificando**, 'for the purpose of testifying,' dat. of purpose. See *Intr.* II 11.

**iactandi ingenii**, 'in order to display his talent.' This genitive of purpose is like the Greek genitive of the substantival infinitive, as in *Thuc.* i. 4, Μίνως τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρει, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἔλναι αὐτῷ. Cf. also 'Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis,' *Ann.* ii 59, and see *Intr.* II 26.

CH. 12, § 1. **infracta . . . potentia**: nominative.

**vocabulum**, 'name.' She appears on an inscription as 'Claudia Acte, Augusti liberta.' Nero's connexion with her was not repre-

hensible according to the ideas of that time, and was condoned as one of the 'voluptates concessae' of ch. 2, 2. She was one of the faithful women who buried Nero after his death. The idea that she was a Christian rests on assuming her identity with a concubine of Nero's, mentioned (but not named) by St. Chrysostom as converted by St. Paul.

**M. Othone**: the subsequent emperor, now twenty-three years of age. See chs. 45, 46.

**Senecione**: a knight, prominent in Piso's conspiracy (*Ann.* xv 50-70).

**familia consulari**: his father, L. Otho, was consul suffectus after Galba, in 33 A. D.

**liberto**: freed by Claudius, but he would still be 'Caesaris libertus,' since Nero would succeed to the 'patronatus' exercised by Claudius.

§ 2. **inrepperat**: subj. 'Acte.'

**per luxum**, &c., 'in his orgies (with Otho and Senecio) and in clandestine interviews.' For **secreta** cf. ch. 18, 3.

**muliercula explente**: abl. abs., giving the reason for the acquiescence of Seneca and Burrus.

**Octavia**: daughter of Claudius and Messalina, married to Nero in his sixteenth year, 53 A. D. He put her away to marry Poppaea Sabina, and banished and murdered her in 62 A. D. (*Ann.* xiv 60 and foll.).

CH. 13, § 1. **nurum ancillam**: the terms are exaggerated, Acte not being a slave but a freedwoman, and also of course not really Agrippina's daughter-in-law, though, according to Suetonius, Nero was at one time desirous of marrying her, and arranged for witnesses to swear that she was one of the Attalidae, the royal house of Pergamus (Suet. *Nero*, 28).

**acrius**: sc. 'eo,' 'the more she stimulated his passion' (Intr. II 47 b).

**seque**, 'put himself in the hands of Seneca.'

**Annaeus**: Pliny states that he was 'praefectus vigilum,' and Seneca dedicated some treatises to him, and speaks of his own grief for his death, c. 62 A. D.

§ 2. **sinus**: (1) 'fold of garment,' (2) 'lap,' 'bosom'; hence (3) metaphorically, as here, 'protection,' 'shelter.'

**cubiculum ac sinum**: hendiadys, 'the shelter of her own chamber.'

**contegendis**: dat. of purpose, sc. 'eis,' antecedent to 'quae.'

§ 3. **intempestivam**, 'ill-timed.'

**suarum**, &c., 'put at his disposal her own vast wealth, which was almost imperial (in its magnitude), as abjectly obsequious now as she had lately been excessively strict with her son.'

§ 4. **orabant cavere**: so Verg., 'stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum,' *Aen.* vi 313. See Intr. II 31.

**semper**, &c., 'always dangerous, and now insincere as well.'

§ 5. **nulla parsimonia**, 'with no lack of generosity.'



prior, 'unasked.'

§ 6. *non his*, &c., 'her wardrobe was not being enriched with these so much as stinted of all the rest.'

CH. 14, § 1. in *deterius*: supply a participle, such as 'versa.' 'Reported these things, exaggerating them unfavourably.'

*cura rerum*: he was head of the imperial treasury ('fiscus'), being 'libertus a rationibus.' Cf. the expression '(servus) ab epistulis.'

*velut*, &c., 'held as it were the position of master of the empire.' 'Agere' and 'agitare' are both used of really holding a position as well as pretending to it. Here the word 'velut' (almost = 'in his own estimation') marks Pallas' pretentiousness. The other reading, 'arbitrum,' is supported by such phrases as 'agere filium principis,' *Hist.* iv 2; 'amicum imperatoris ageret,' *Hist.* i 30.

*degrediente*: i. e. down from the Palatium.

*eiuraret*: Nero sarcastically applies to the freedman on his dismissal a term proper only to an outgoing republican official, who when the time came for laying down his 'magistratus' took oath in a public ceremony, 'se nihil contra leges fecisse.'

§ 2. *interrogaretur*, 'should be called to account.' The genitive ('facti') is that commonly associated with verbs of accusing, condemning, and the like. So in *Ann.* xiv 46, 1. See *Intr.* II 24.

*pares*, 'square,' 'balanced,' 'passed'; translate, 'that he should have his account with the State taken as passed.'

§ 3. *auribus*: ablat., with 'abstinere.' Translate freely, 'did not refrain from declaring in the emperor's hearing.'

*insitus*, 'an intruder.'

*per iniurias*, &c.: the interpretation depends on whether 'matris' is subjective or objective: (1) 'the government which he held, thanks to his mother's iniquities'; or (2) 'which he exercised in a course of outrages on his mother.' The context favours (1).

§ 4. *id solum*, 'one precaution had been taken.'

§ 5. *inde debilis*: emended from *Med.* 'indebilis.'

*rursus*, 'as the counterpart.' Cf. ch. 13, 3.

*exul*: he was banished through Messalina's dislike in 41 A.D., and was recalled by Agrippina when she married Claudius in 49 A.D. (*Ann.* xii 8, 3).

*trunca manu*. This applies to Burrus, referring to some wound, otherwise not known of, in virtue of which she calls him 'crippled' (*debilis*) above.

*professoria lingua*, 'with his pedant's tongue.'

§ 6. *Silanorum*: see ch. 1, 1 and *Ann.* xii 8, 1.

*inrita*, 'fruitless,' since Nero did not repay her sacrifices for him.

CH. 15, § 1. *propinquo*, 'as (the day) was approaching.'

*quartum decimum*: this birthday would be an important one, as he would then become of an age to assume the 'toga virilis.'

*levi quidem*: this is a correction from *Med.* 'ut quidam,' on

the supposition that the first syllable of 'levi' was lost in the last of 'indolem,' and 'ui' corrupted into 'ut.'

*quaesivisset*: the subjunctive is used, as this is part of Nero's thought.

§ 2. *festis Saturno diebus*: the Saturnalia of the previous December.

*lusu sortientium*: with the dice. Cf. Hor. *Od.* i 4, 18, 'nec regna vini sortiēre talis.' The 'king' chosen in this game would give fantastic orders to the other players. 'Sortientium' is a partitive genitive, 'among those casting dice . . . the lot fell on Nero.'

§ 3. *diversa*: sc. 'iussit.' For dat. after this verb cf. § 7 of this chapter and *Ann.* iv 72, 2, 'tributum iis Drusus iusserat modicum.' The construction with the subjunctive is also found in the *Histories* of Tacitus, as well as in Terence, Livy, and Ovid.

*convictus*, for the more usual 'convivia.'

*constanter*, 'with self-possession.' The song chosen by Britannicus is conjectured to have been a passage from Ennius' *Andromache*, on Priam's downfall.

§ 4. *invidia*, 'the feeling against him.'

*intendit*, 'increases.'

*nullum crimen*: sc. 'erat.'

*Locusta*: already described, *Ann.* xii 66, 4, as selected by Agrippina to poison Claudius, and as being 'nuper veneficii damnata et diu inter instrumenta regni habita.'

§ 5. *nam*: in such a household it was easy to get poison administered, when once prepared.

*pensi haberet*, 'should attach weight to.' See Intr. II 23 (e). Older writers who use this expression always make it depend on a neuter, as 'nihil' or 'quicquam.'

§ 6. *educatoribus*: i. e. his *παιδαγωγοί*. Cf. xiv 3, 5.

*temperamentum*, 'dilution.'

§ 7. *dum respiciunt*. See Intr. II 37, and notice that the approach to 'oratio recta' heightens the rhetorical effect.

*rumorem*, 'popular outcry.'

§ 8. *promittentibus*: abl. abs.

*cognitis . . . rapidum*, 'a poison, rapid in effect, from previously tested drugs.' According to Suetonius, Nero had it tried on a kid, which lived five hours; then, after further concentration by boiling down, on a small pig, which died immediately.

CH. 16, § 1. *habebatur*, 'was kept up.' Tacitus speaks in the past because from the time here spoken of till that in which he wrote there had been no younger sons of 'principes.'

*idem aetatis*: for a similar accus. cf. *Ann.* v 9, 3, 'id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta.'

*sedentes*: under Augustus and Claudius this posture was maintained for young people. Valerius Maximus mentions this as a former custom in the case of women ('feminae cum viris cubantibus sedentes cenitabant').

§ 2. *gustu explorabat*. The office of 'praegustator' is men-

tioned in Inscr. as early as in the time of Augustus, and under Claudius the 'praegustatores' formed a 'collegium' under a 'procurator.' Similar precautions were taken by the Medo-Persian despots; and so also Athenaeus, writing of Hiero's court, mentions 'προγευσται' who 'προήσθιον τῶν βασιλείων πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν' (Ath. 4. 71, 1716).

§ 3. *fervore*: abl. of cause. See Intr. II 19.

§ 4. *inprudentes*, 'those not in the secret.'

*resistunt*, 'kept their seats.'

§ 5. *reclinis*: a word not found in prose before Tacitus.

*nescio similis*, 'as if unconscious.' Cf. 'ignaro propior' (*Ann.* xi 35, 1).

*comitiale morbum*, 'epilepsy,' called 'morbus comitialis' because a case of it occurring in the public assembly necessitated an adjournment.

§ 6. *emicuit*, 'betrayed itself,' in a sudden expression of face.

*ut . . . constiterit*: this tense is used in consecutive clauses in past time when emphasis is laid on the instantaneous or complete character of the action.

*exemplum*, 'a precedent.'

CH. 17, § 1. *nox eadem*: for such personifications see Intr. II 53. Dio and Suetonius describe the funeral as performed not at night but on the following day. But the language of the edict (§ 4) supports Tacitus' account.

§ 2. *in campo Martis*: where Augustus' mausoleum stood.

*sepultus*: refers to the deposition of his ashes.

*etiam*: the idea is that human judgment is unlikely to be more lenient than the divine, yet even among men excuse was found for the crime; hence the 'vulgus' were probably wrong in ascribing the storm to divine displeasure. The lax moral judgment involved in this reasoning is due to the prevalence of such crimes in ancient despotisms.

*antiquas*: e.g. Atreus and Thyestes, Eteocles and Polynices, Romulus and Remus. Cf. 'solita fratribus odia' (*Ann.* iv 60, 5).

*insociabile*, 'despotism bears no partner.'

*aestimantes*, 'taking into account.'

§ 3. *sacra mensae*: referring primarily to the customary libations to the Lares and Penates. The religious sanction thus appertaining to the meal further involves the mutual inviolability of those partaking of it.

*sororum*: Octavia, Britannicus' own sister and wife of Nero, and Antonia his half-sister, daughter of Claudius by his second wife Paetina.

§ 4. *edidit*, 'justified.' The edict was probably composed by Seneca.

*subtrahere oculis*: the ancient Roman custom by which all funerals were conducted at night survived in the case of those whose friends could not afford expensive ceremonies, and of those who died at an immature age.

**acerba**: a metaphor from unripe fruit, applied also by Vergil, *Aen.* vi 429, to premature deaths.

§ 5. **familia**: the 'gens Claudia,' to which Nero belonged by adoption. (Nero could however trace his descent to Augustus, through his mother, who was grand-daughter of Augustus' daughter Julia.)

CH. 18, § 1. **potissimos**: Nero's most intimate associates. According to Suetonius, Locusta as well received rich presents, and pardon for previous offences.

**gravitatem adseverantes**, 'who made profession of austerity.' The allusion fits the case of Seneca. In connexion with 'necessitatem adhibitam,' Seneca's own dictum 'nemo in id accipiendo obligatur quod illi repudiare non licuit' (*de Ben.* 2. 18. 7) is significant.

§ 3. **amplecti**, 'made much of.'

**avaritiam**, 'rapacity.' Cf. *Ann.* xii 7, 7, 'cupido auri immensa obtentum habebat quasi subsidium regno pararetur' (her avarice claimed the excuse of political forethought).

**etiam tum**: Tacitus writes after the almost total extinction by Domitian of the old Republican nobility.

§ 4. **excubias**: sentinels of praetorians at her doors, distinct from her body-guard ('custodes') when she went out.

**nuper eundem in honorem**: a correction of Med. 'super eundem,' which is unsatisfactory, though by some explained as 'besides that mark of honour.'

§ 5. **ne coetu**: i. e. so that *she* should not receive attention from the crowd of courtiers who came to pay their respects to *him*.

**Antonia**: the maternal great-grandmother of Nero, see Intr. VI b. She was better known than Nero's paternal grandmother, who also bore this name, and who has been taken by some to be the person named here.

**quotiens**: followed by subjunctive denoting action frequently repeated (Intr. II 41).

CH. 19, § 1. **nihil**, &c., 'Nothing in human affairs is so precarious and transient as the prestige of an authority that depends on another for enforcement.'

§ 2. **supra**: the story is told in the closing chapters of *Ann.* xi. Messalina conceived a violent passion for Silius, whom she positively married, thus repudiating her own marriage with the Emperor Claudius. The imperial freedmen persuaded Claudius to have Silius executed as a conspirator, and then Narcissus sent soldiers to kill Messalina too, though the emperor was half inclined to pardon her (48 A. D.).

**Sextium Africanum**: mentioned again in *Ann.* xiv 46, as one of the officials taking the census in Gaul. He was descended from T. Sextius, legatus of Julius Caesar in Gaul, and subsequently proconsul in Numidia.

**vergenterem**: this verb is applied to the lapse of time and to mental tendency by writers of this age only.

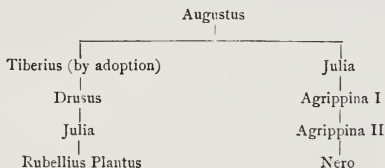
**opibus et orbitate**, 'the wealth of the childless Silana,' hendiadys for 'opibus orbae.' Cf. 'testamenta et orbos,' ch. 42.

For the courting of the childless by fortune-hunters at Rome, cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii 5, 28; Juv. iv 19 and xii 99.

§ 3. **iniurias**: her ill-treatment by Nero.

**Rubellius Plautus** was son of Rubellius Blandus and Julia daughter of Drusus the son of Tiberius. He was recommended by Nero to go and live in Asia, in 60 A. D. (*Ann.* xiv 22, 5), and was killed by Nero's orders in 62 A. D., (*Ann.* xiv 59, 3).

**pari ac Nero gradu**: only so in virtue of Augustus' adoption of Tiberius, whereas Nero himself through his mother Agrippina was directly descended from Augustus, as the following tree shows:—



**ad res novas extollere**, 'encourage in a revolutionary design.'

**coniugioque**, &c., 'and by making him first her husband and then emperor to reassert her former ascendancy.'

§ 4. **Domitia**, sister of Cn. Domitius, Nero's father, and wife of Crispus Passienus, who deserted her to marry Agrippina after the death of Domitius. She is to be distinguished from her sister Domitia Lepida, who took the young Nero under her care, when his father died and his mother was in exile through fear of Messalina. Domitia Lepida had been killed by Agrippina in 54 A. D. (*Ann.* xii 64, 4).

**histrionem**: used (so also 'mimus') for performers who represented characters and actions in elaborate dumb-show. Cf. such phrases as 'saltare Agamemnona,' 'Ledam.' Cf. Juv. vii 90. (For their expulsion, cf. ch. 25, 4 and xiv 21, 7.)

**impulit**: with infin. See Intr. II 31.

**crimen atrociter deferre**, 'to vehemently denounce her.'

CH. 20, § 1. **luxus intendere**, 'to stimulate his excesses' (by his suggestive performances).

**compositus**, &c., 'putting on a serious air.' Cf. *Ann.* iii 44, 'compositus ad securitatem,' 'affecting unconcern.'

**ordine**, 'the detail.' Cf. 'ordo negotii,' *Ann.* ii 27.

**tamquam**, &c., 'as owing his advancement to Agrippina's interest and bound to her by gratitude' (lit. 'making her a return').

He was promoted to be 'praefectus praetorio' in 51 A. D., displacing Lusius Geta and Rufrius Crispinus, both creatures of Messalina.

§ 2. **Fabius Rusticus**: for this author, and also Pliny and Cluvius Rufus (§ 3), see Intr. I 3.

**Caecina Tuscus**, known subsequently as praefect of Egypt, whence he was banished in the last year of Nero's reign, 68 A. D.

**codicillos**, the term for 'letters patent,' conferring an imperial appointment.

§ 3. **nihil dubitatum**, 'do not mention that any doubt was cast.'

§ 4. **secuturi**, 'as we intend to follow.' This does not indicate a new departure, but the course he has taken and still means to take.

§ 5. **differri**, 'to be turned from his purpose.'

**accusatores**: Iturius and Calvisius; 'vocem unius,' = 'Atimeti'; 'adferri' implies that even *he* was only *reported* through Paris.

**reputaret**, 'let him reflect that it was late, that the night had been spent in revelry, and that the whole story savoured of recklessness and ignorance'; *or*, 'that all the conditions were favourable for rash and ignorant assertions.'

(For 'reputaret' Med. gives 'refutare,' which has been explained as a metaphor from cookery, the word meaning to check liquid from boiling over by pouring in cold water, and so giving rise to a phrase in Latin similar to our own, 'to pour cold water on.' 'Tenebras,' 'noctem,' 'omnia,' will then be the subject to this infinitive. The emendation to 'reputaret' assumes that 'p' and 'f' have been confused, and the final 't' lost in the next word 'tenebras'.)

CH. 21, § 1. **ut nosceret**, 'that she might hear the charges against her.'

§ 2. **arbitri**, 'as witnesses,' to report if Seneca and Burrus showed lack of firmness.

§ 3. **ferociae**, 'her high spirit.'

**ignotos habere**, 'is ignorant of.' So 'praesumptum habeant' (= 'praesumant'), *Ann.* xiv 64, 5.

§ 4. **suscipiendae accusationis**: gen. of description, with 'operam.' 'And even if I. and C., having squandered their fortunes, are repaying the hag by this latest service, undertaking my accusation, this is no reason why I should suffer the infamy, or Caesar the guilt, of kindred murder.' **parricidium** denotes murder of any near relative, not only of a father.

§ 5. **nunc**, &c., 'but, as it is, she is, so to speak, rigging up a stage effect.'

§ 6. **Baiarum**, &c.: i. e. Domitia was only thinking of her own aggrandisement, while she, Agrippina, was advancing her son's interests.

**extollebat**, 'was adorning.'

**adoptio**: in 50 A. D. *Ann.* xii 25.

**designatio**: in 51 A. D. he was designated for the office of consul in his twentieth year, and held it in 57 A. D. (xiii 31), and between his 'designatio' and year of office he was to hold 'proconsulare imperium extra urbem,' *Ann.* xii 41.

§ 7. **aut existat**: a sudden transition in the argument, natural considering the excitement under which she is speaking. 'The

praetorians corrupted, the allegiance of the provinces (i. e. the armies there) sapped, the slaves and freedmen bribed to murder,' may be understood as (1) referring to the steps taken by Agrippina to murder Claudius and advance Nero over the head of Britannicus the rightful heir; these she declares to be the only crimes of which she can truthfully be accused, but Nero who has profited by them cannot condemn her for them: or (2), such acts being the natural steps towards overthrowing a reigning emperor, she challenges her accusers to prove her guilty of these definite acts of treason at the present moment, instead of bringing a vague and general charge of conspiracy.

*vivere ego*, 'could my life have been spared had Britannicus become emperor?' (inasmuch as he would have avenged his father).

§ 8. *rem publicam*: with 'obtinerit'; 'iudicaturus,' 'bound to become my judge'; *scilicet* shows she is speaking sarcastically.

*impatientia*, &c., 'injudicious sometimes through the uncontrollable force of a mother's love.' She is contrasting such expressions as are quoted in chs. 13 and 14 with the dark crimes she had really committed, which only he who had profited by them could pardon.

§ 9. *commotæ*, 'being carried away,' 'convinced.' Cf. 44, 8.

*ultrōque*, &c., 'and actually proceeding to calm her outburst.'

*quasi diffideret*, 'as though she had any misgivings.'

*quasi exprobraret*, 'as though protesting' (against his ingratitude).

CH. 22, § 1. *praefectura annonae*: this was the chief official position tenable by a Roman knight, next to that of 'praefectus praetorio' and the 'praefectura Aegypti.'

*Faenio Rufo*: this officer obtained a good reputation in this office, which led to his promotion to be 'praefectus praetorio' on Burrus' death, (xiv 51, 5). He joined in the conspiracy of Piso, and suffered death (xv 50, 68).

*Arruntius Stella* is otherwise not known. There was a L. Arruntius Stella, cos. suff. under Trajan, and often mentioned as a poet by Martial, who possibly was this man's son.

*Ti. Balbillo*: Med. gives, as praenomen, C., which may be a corruption of 'Claudio,' his gentile name. His full name, Ti. Claudius Balbillus, is known from inscr., and he is mentioned as praefect of Egypt by Pliny and Seneca.

§ 2. *P. Anteius* was subsequently accused of plotting, with Ostorius, against the emperor's life. Both the accused committed suicide (xvi 14, 2).

*retentus est*: as an intimate friend of Agrippina he may have been thought unsafe to be trusted with military command.

§ 3. *relegantur*: a milder form of banishment than *Silana's*. They were pardoned after Agrippina's death (xiv 12, 6).

*supplicium*: capital punishment.

*apud libidines principis*: the preposition implies personification, as though it were 'apud principem libidinosum.'

**transmissus**: he was virtually banished to Asia, 60 A. D. (xiv 22), and murdered by Nero's orders, 62 A. D. (xiv 59).

CH. 23, § 1. **Cornelius Sulla**: his full name was Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix. He is mentioned as consul in 52 A. D. (*Ann.* xii 52), and was put to death by Nero in 62 A. D. (xiv 57).

**claritudine . . . adfinitate**: causal ablatives.

§ 2. **exercendis . . . sectionibus**, 'notorious for his traffic with the treasury in confiscated estates.' If a man's property was confiscated to the State, Paetus would pay the treasury a sum down, and then make what he could by seizing the property. He also seems to have bought up the right to collect debts long due, but hitherto not exacted by the treasury (§ 4).

**vanitatis**, 'falsehood.'

§ 3. **gravis**, 'offensive.'

**nominatis**, 'called into court.'

**ne vocem consociaret**, 'so as not to put himself on speaking terms with them.'

§ 4. **inter iudices**: Burrus was not a senator, but was on this occasion sitting as one of the 'assessores' of the 'princeps,' trying the case personally 'intra cubiculum.'

**exustae**: that no one else might profit by them.

CH. 24, § 1. **statio cohortis**: the praetorian cohort usually present to keep order.

**incorruptior ageret**, 'might not become demoralized.' (Church and Brodribb.)

**modestiam**, 'good behaviour.'

§ 2. **lustravit**: this was done frequently on occasion of prodigies, calamities, or bloodshed. The ceremony is distinct from the regular 'lustratio' after a census, but consisted similarly of a procession and sacrifice. The 'princeps' would officiate, as 'pontifex maximus.'

CH. 25, § 1. **Volusio**: his 'cognomen' was Saturninus; his father is mentioned ch. 30, and his mother was a Cornelia of the Scipio family, so that he was probably related to his colleague.

**deverticula**, 'low taverns,' the diminutive being used contemptuously. The ordinary form is 'deversorium.' The terrorism in the streets exercised by vicious young men is referred to by Juvenal (iii 278-301).

**vulnera**: so Suet., 'redeuntes a caena verberare ac repugnantes vulnerare cloacisque demergere assuerat.'

**ore praeferret**, 'showed the bruises on his face.'

§ 2. **sub nomine**, 'assuming the name.'

**in modum captivitatis**, 'in a way approaching the state of a captured city.'

**senatorii ordinis**: Montanus had not yet become actually a senator (through the quaestorship), or at most had not gone beyond that office. Suet. calls him 'laticlavus quidam.' The laticlave was worn by sons of senators, and by knights capable and desirous of becoming senators.

**vi attemptantem**, 'attacking him with violence.'



**deinde**, &c., '(because) then on recognizing him (he) had asked pardon, was compelled to kill himself as though he had expostulated.' Dio gives Nero's remark on receiving his petition: οὐκ οὐκ ἤδη, Νέρωνα τύπτων, αὐτὸν κατεχρήσατο;

**mori**: for this infin. after 'adactus est' see Intr. II 31.

§ 3. **rixarum**, &c., 'quarrels beginning moderately, and apparently those of ordinary individuals'; **privata**, as though 'privatorum.' **sinerent**, 'not interfere in.'

§ 4. **ludicram licentiam**, 'disorder at the play.'

**fautores**: equivalent to 'fautorum.'

**inpunitate**, 'by the impunity (he afforded them) and the rewards (he gave).'

**occultus**, &c., 'looking on from a place of concealment, and often in full view.'

**motus**, 'disturbance.'

**histriones**: the whole class apparently, not merely the offenders; cf. *Ann.* xiv 21, 7.

CH. 26, § 1. **fraudibus**, 'misconduct.'

**censerent**, 'expressed their opinion' in favour of the suggestion. For procedure in the senate, see ch. 49, 2.

**relationem incipere**, 'to put the question,' and accordingly pass a formal resolution.

**ille**, &c. The exact words of Med., which as they stand give no sense, are: 'ille an auctor constitutionis fieret ut inter paucos et sententiae adversos quibusdam coalitam libertate inreverentiam eo prorupisse frementibus vine an aequo cum patronis iure agerent sententiam eorum consultarent ac verberibus manus ultro intenderent impulere vel poenam suam dissuadentes.' In the first sentence a verb of deliberation is required by 'an,' and 'consultavit' is proposed instead of the MS. 'ut,' which may possibly be the mutilated survivor of some such verb. 'Ut' before 'vine' is required by 'eo'; 'sententiam consultarent' will make sense though it is not a satisfactory Latin phrase; and the other alterations, 'diversos' for 'adversos,' 'impudenter' for 'impulere,' and 'suadentes' for 'dissuadentes,' improve the general sense of the passage, which gives the substance of a debate in the private council of the emperor, the opinions of one side being introduced in this chapter (after 'frementibus'), and those of the other side in ch. 27. 'He debated whether he should make himself responsible for an ordinance on this subject with a few advisers who differed in their views, some complaining that the disrespect of the freedmen, fostered by indulgence, had gone to such lengths that they asked their patrons' opinion whether they should deal with them (their patrons) by force or on terms of legal equality, and actually raised their hands to strike blows, in their impudence even recommending their own punishment.'

**sententiae**: gen. of respect, with 'diversos.' So 'morum diversus,' *Ann.* xiv 19.

**verberibus**: dat. of purpose.

§ 3. **concessum**: probably by an edict of Augustus, who is known to have regulated the rights of patrons and others towards freedmen. This power of 'relegatio' without the intervention of a magistrate was a survival of the ancient 'patria potestas' held by the head of a family.

**ut centesimum**: [Med. gives 'vicesimum,' without 'ut.'] One hundred miles is known to have been in later times the limit of the jurisdiction of the 'praefectus urbi,' and as a limit of banishment was of older and perhaps even Republican date. 'To banish beyond the hundredth milestone—to the coast of Campania!' (one of the most delightful parts of Italy, where the fashionable holiday resorts were situated).

**ceteras**, &c.: i.e. except for this power of 'relegatio,' which was no punishment at all, the patron only had the ordinary legal procedure available, in which they stood on equal terms.

§ 4. **nec grave**, &c., 'it was no oppressive burden for the discharged to preserve their freedom by the same obedience as that by which they had earned it.'

**retinendi**: genitive depending on the idea of a substantive implied, such as 'onus,' (from 'grave'). So *Ann.* xv 5, 3, 'Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi,' where a subst., 'habit,' is implied from 'vetus et penitus infixum'; (*Intr.* II 26).

CH. 27, § 1. **id corpus**: i.e. the mass of freedmen.

§ 2. **hinc**, 'it was from these to a great extent that the tribes were drawn.' The four urban tribes are probably meant.

**decurias**: associations of public servants, such as lictors, clerks ('scribae'), auctioneers ('praecones'), servers of summonses ('viatores').

**ministeria**: abstr. for concrete, 'attendants' other than those enrolled in the 'decuriae,' such as court ushers ('accensi') and criers ('calatores').

**cohortes**: the 'vigiles,' a police force consisting of seven cohorts, each 1,000 strong, half a cohort being allotted to each of the fourteen 'regiones' into which Rome was divided.

**plurimis**, &c., 'most of the knights, very many of the senators, derive their origin from no higher source.' Under Tiberius the full privileges of Roman knighthood had been restricted to 'ingenui' of three generations; but the rule must have always had exceptions, and was now much relaxed.

**libertini**: adjectival form, denoting freedmen as a class. 'If freedmen were made a distinct class, the scarcity of free-born citizens would be too noticeable.'

§ 3. **oim dignitatem**, &c., 'while they admitted distinctions in the honours accorded to different ranks, they made freedom the common possession of all.'

§ 4. **manu mittendi**, &c.: the distinction is between full and partial manumission. The former ('iusta manumissio') was effected by a ceremony in presence of a consul or praetor (or proconsul or propraetor), when the slave was touched by the lictor's wand

(vindicta), and a formal declaration of his freedom was pronounced. Full freedom could also be granted by will, and, till the censorship lost its Republican functions, by enrolment of the slave on the citizen list by the censor. Partial manumission was a private affair, effected either (1) 'inter amicos,' by a declaration before five witnesses, or (2) 'per epistolam,' by a letter countersigned by five persons, or (3) 'convivio,' by reception of the slave as a guest at his master's table. These forms were often followed by the 'iusta manumissio'; cf. Plin. *Epp.* 7. 16, 'si voles vindicta liberare quos proxime inter amicos manumisisti.'

**paenitentiae**, 'change of mind': not that partial manumission was revocable, but it remained in the power of the patronus to refuse the further concession (novum beneficium) of the 'iusta manumissio.'

**velut vincolo**, &c.: those who had received 'iusta manumissio' became Roman citizens; those otherwise manumitted were by an act of Tiberius given 'Latin rights,' such as 'ius commercii,' but were still of servile condition, in so far that they were unable to contract a legal marriage, to make a will, or inherit property under a will.

§ 6. **privatim**, 'that they should deal with the case individually, as often as a freedman was blamed by his patron, without inflicting any disability on the whole class.'

§ 7. **amitae**: Domitia, see ch. 19, 4.

**quasi**, 'by an abuse of civil justice, which brought disgrace on the emperor, by whose order a decision that he was free-born had been effected.' Paris had bought his freedom, and then claimed to recover the sum paid, on the ground that he was free born; the court, to please Nero, decided in his favour.

CH. 28, § 1. **nihilo minus**: in spite of Nero's terrorism over the senate and the courts.

**rei publicae**, 'a commonwealth.'

**Vibullium**: presiding praetor at the 'ludi.'

**Antistium**: Antistius Sosianus, praetor in 62 A. D., and exiled for libel (*Ann.* xiv 48-49); recalled (xvi 14, 1); described as 'pravitate morum multis exitiosus' (*Hist.* iv 44, 3).

**inmodestos**, 'disorderly.'

§ 2. **conprobavere**, 'approved the order of the praetor.' The tribune was acting within the old lines of his official right, so that the power here assumed by the senate to annul his interference and censure him is noticeable.

**ius praetorum**, &c.: this does not mean that the tribunes lost their right of 'interpellatio' against a magistrate's decree, but they were forbidden to intervene in a case coming on before other magistrates by transferring its cognizance to themselves.

**vocare**, &c., 'to summon from Italy (to Rome) persons liable to a suit at law.' This is a check on another usurpation on the part of the tribunes, whose power did not properly extend beyond the city. Varro (ap. Gell. 13. 12) distinguishes the right of sum-

moning an absent person ('vocatio') from that of arresting one present ('prensio'), and maintains that tribunes had the latter power only, as distinct from magistrates with 'imperium,' who had both, and from such as quaestors, who had neither.

§ 3. **L. Piso**: mentioned again in ch. 31 as colleague of Nero, and in *Ann.* xv 18 as appointed one of the three commissioners in charge of the public revenues.

**ne quid**, &c., 'that they should inflict no penalty officially within their houses.' Though the tribune's house was to be open night and day to those who wanted to invoke his help, the actual intervention was to be exercised in public, usually by the 'collegium' of tribunes sitting together (cp. 'ad subsellia tribunorum res agebatur,' Liv. xlii 33); their usual place of meeting being at the 'rostra' or in the 'Basilica Porcia.'

**aerarii**: a fine was registered at the 'aerarium' before payment was exacted. In the same way a decree of the senate did not take effect till it had been registered at the 'aerarium' after a nine days' interval.

**deque eo**, &c., 'appeal should lie with the consuls.' These appear to have had, in virtue of 'potestas maior,' the right to reverse decisions of other magistrates.

§ 4. **aedilium potestas**: the 'cura ludorum' and 'cura annonae' had been taken from the aediles, who now held only a partial 'cura urbis,' the regulation of markets and prices, and the control of places of public resort.

**quantum**, &c., 'to what extent they might distrain on property or inflict fines,' i.e. in dealing with offenders against their regulations.

§ 5. **Helvidius Priscus**: probably not identical with the famous person of that name in xvi 28, 2.

**Obultronium Sabinum**: mentioned in the *Histories* (i 37, 5) as put to death in Spain by Galba.

**exercuit**, 'vented personal dislike on O. S. (by interfering with his action) on the ground that he was pushing his right to sell up the property of defaulters to the treasury ("ius hastae") to cruel lengths against the poor.' Instances occur in early history of interference on the part of the tribunes with the collection of dues for the treasury; if their demands were not complied with, they would refuse to permit a 'delectus' to be held. For *tamquam* see *Intr.* II 50.

**praefectos**: drawn from senators of praetorian rank, see ch. 29, 3. As 'praefecti' they would be responsible to the emperor alone, and independent of tribunician interference.

CH. 29, § 1. **varie habita**, &c., 'the regulation of that department had been in different hands, and had been often changed.' **eius rei**, the public treasury, as distinct from both the 'fiscus' and the 'aerarium militare.' **forma**, cf. ch. 4, 'formam futuri principatus.'

**nam Augustus**: under the Republic the 'aerarium' had been

in the charge of quaestors; Julius Caesar transferred it to two aediles; Augustus, in 28 B.C., gave it to two officers of praetorian rank, who were styled 'praefecti' but were elected by the senate.

**suspecto**, 'owing to apprehensions of corrupt practices in the voting.'

**sorte**: the change is dated by Dio 23 B.C.

**praetorum**: two were thus chosen annually, termed 'praetores aerarii' or 'ad aerarium.' Tiberius did not alter the regulation of the treasury, but appointed another board of three senators ('curatores tabularum publicarum') to manage the record office (Dio).

**praeessent**: subj. indicating purpose.

§ 2. **quaestores**: Claudius made this change in 44 A.D., when he abolished the four 'quaestoriae provinciae' in Italy; these were the districts entrusted to the 'quaestores classici' when the Roman conquest of Italy was complete, 267 B.C. (cf. *Ann.* iv 27 and xi 22).

**rursum** implies that the change was a reversion to ancient custom; however, the period of office of these two 'quaestores aerarii' was three years, and they were selected by the emperor, not popularly elected.

**honores**: the higher magistracies; if approved in their office, the 'quaestores aerarii' passed on at once to the praetorship without the intervening step of tribunate or aedileship.

**ne metu**, &c., 'lest through fear of incurring unpopularity they might be remiss in their administration.'

§ 3. **experientia probatos**, 'men of proved experience,' lit. 'approved of on the score of experience.' Cf. 'experientia cognitos,' ch. 6, and Intr. II 20.

**delegit**: Nero made the selection himself; Augustus had left it to the senate.

CH. 30, § 1. **isdem consulibus**: i.e. Volusius and Scipio, ch. 25. These gave their name to the whole year, though their office would not extend throughout it, owing to the institution of consules suffecti. See Intr. III 9, note.

**Sardiniam**. This island, with Corsica, was at this time governed by an imperial procurator, but in 67 A.D., during his tour in Greece, Nero proclaimed the freedom of the senatorial province of Achaia, and gave both islands to the senate in compensation.

**avare habitam**, 'administered extortionately.'

**Cretensibus**: for Med. 'credentibus.' Another proposed emendation is 'cedentibus' (relinquishing the prosecution).

§ 2. **Clodius Quirinalis**: Ravenna on the Adriatic and Misenum on the Mediterranean were the headquarters of the imperial fleet ('classis praetoria'); each division was under a 'praefectus' directly responsible to the emperor. The praefectus was usually of equestrian rank. Clodius Quirinalis was a knight and had been 'primipilus' of the twentieth legion.

**veneno**, &c.: Romans often anticipated condemnation by suicide,

because capital punishment disqualified the victims from burial and rendered their wills invalid: these disabilities did not apply to suicides (*Ann.* vi 29).

§ 3. **Caninius Rebilus**: an emendation which substitutes the name of a well-known family for the unknown G. Aminius Rebius of Med.

**ex primoribus**, &c., 'eminent for his legal knowledge and vast wealth.'

**cruciatius**: acc. plur. of the substantive.

**haud creditus**: see *Intr.* II 33.

§ 4. **L. Volusius**: father of the consul for 56 A. D. (ch. 25). He was legatus of Dalmatia under Tiberius and Gaius, and at his death was 'praefectus urbis.'

**cui**, &c., 'the span of whose life amounted to ninety-three years, and who had enjoyed exceptional wealth honourably acquired, without having come into conflict with the malevolence of the many emperors (under whom he had lived).'

CH. 31, § 1. **Nerone**: this was the consulship to which he had been designated in 51 A. D. (*Ann.* xii 41).

**Pisone**: mentioned in ch. 28.

**nisi cui libeat**, &c.: this is evidently a disparaging allusion to some historian, possibly to the elder Pliny, who in his *Natural History* (xvi 40, 76, 200) mentions a larch beam of remarkable size brought to Rome many years before and worked into this amphitheatre, and may have described it also in his general history, which is not extant.

**cum**, &c., 'whereas it is regarded as suitable to the dignity of the Roman people to reserve notable events for history, and such trifles for the daily journals.'

**reperitum**, 'regarded as an established principle' either (1) by Tacitus personally, or (2) by historians in general.

**diurnis urbis actis**: for these daily gazettes cf. *Intr.* I 3.

§ 2. **Capua atque Nuceria**: both in Campania; the former received the constitution of a colony from Julius Caesar, and the latter from Augustus.

**congiarium**, 'dole,' derived from 'congius,' a vessel containing about a pint. The word originally denoted a present of wine, oil, &c. (Livy xxv 2), but later on such gifts took the form of money. Cp. 'sportula,' the gift of a wealthy Roman to his clients.

**quadringeni**: a larger amount than had been given since the earlier largesses of Augustus.

**sestertium quadringentiens**: supply 'centena millia,' 40,000,000 sesterces, about £333,000.

**ad retinendam**, &c., 'to sustain the public credit.' In the same way Augustus had subsidized the public treasury to the extent of 150 million sesterces. The subvention made by Nero on this occasion must be distinguished from that given annually; see *Ann.* xv 18.

§ 3. **vectigal**, &c., 'the duty of four per cent. on the sale of

slaves.' The proceeds from this went to the 'aerarium militare' (Dio). Under Augustus the tax was two per cent., 'quinquagesima (pars).'

**specie, &c.**, 'an apparent rather than real benefit, because, the seller being ordered to pay it, the purchasers found it added on as part of the price;' i.e. the change was simply that the tax was collected from the slave-dealers ('mangones') instead of the buyers, and the former took care that it caused no diminution in their profits.

§ 4. **magistratus**: governor of a senatorial province, a pro-consul or propraetor; **procurator** governor of an imperial province, appointed by and directly responsible to the 'princeps.'

**in provincia . . . ludierum**: the provincial 'ludi' mentioned in inscriptions were given by the emperor through his 'procurator.'

§ 5. **nam ante**: i.e. these shows were a kind of 'ambitus,' whereby they secured partisans, who either prevented the oppressed from prosecuting the governor, or frustrated the prosecution by a counter-demonstration; so that this 'largitio' was itself a means of oppressing the subjects by making redress more difficult.

**dum, &c.**, 'screening their guilty self-indulgence by thus currying favour.'

CH. 32, § 1. **senatus consultum**: an extension of an earlier measure passed in 10 A. D., 'domino occiso de ea familia quaestio habenda est quae intra tectum fuerit vel certe extra tectum cum domino eo tempore quo occidebatur.' An instance of the wholesale execution of the household of a murdered Roman is given in *Ann.* xiv 42-45.

**ultioni, &c.**, 'providing alike for punishment and a sense of security'; dat. of purpose, see Intr. II 11.

§ 2. **Lurius Varus**: being a consular, he had probably been proconsul of Asia or Africa, and had been expelled from the senate for extortion. This had no doubt been mentioned in its proper place (in the lost part of the *Annals*), so as to make further explanation here needless.

§ 3. **A. Plautius** was a distinguished general who carried out successful campaigns in Britain under Claudius, 43-47 A. D., bringing under Roman government the part of the island south of a line from the mouth of the Severn to that of the Nen.

**quem ovasse rettuli**: the part of the *Annals* covering Plautius' conquest of Britain is lost to us. The ovation of Plautius took place on his return in 47 A. D., and Claudius is stated to have ridden in the procession by his side (Suet. *Cl.* 24).

**superstitionis externae**: the phrase is general and might refer to any non-Italian religion, but the belief that she was a Christian derives support from the account of her habits of life (§§ 4, 5). The retirement and sobriety of a Christian might well appear a kind of 'perpetual mourning' to the dissolute society of the Neronian period. (There are also Christian inscriptions of 150 years later, naming Pomponius Graecinus and Pomponius Bassus, probably her

descendants.) If she was a Christian, this is likely to have been made the ground of a charge of conjugal infidelity, and for this reason judgment was left to her husband 'prisco instituto.'

§ 4. **propinquis coram**, 'in the presence of relations,' including representatives from the wife's family as a check on the otherwise absolute authority of the husband.

**de capite**, &c., 'investigated the charge as it affected her legal status and her honour.'

§ 5. **Iuliam**: the great-granddaughter of Pomponia, daughter of Atticus, through whom this Pomponia Graecina was probably related to her. Julia was mother of Rubellius Plautus (ch. 19). Messalina is stated by Dio to have caused her to be put to death in 43 A. D., out of jealousy (*ζηλοσυνήσασα*).

**quadraginta annos**: this shows her to have lived on to the reign of Domitian.

**cultu**, 'dress'; **egit**, 'lived.'

**inpune**: used as an adjective. Cf. *Ann.* i 72, 'dicta inpune erant' (Intr. II 49).

CH. 33, § 1. **P. Celerem**: see ch. 1. His trial probably took place in the emperor's private court, as he had been a 'procurator principis.'

**traxit**, 'let his case drag on.'

§ 2. **obtegebat**, 'cast into the shade.' His chief crime had been in Nero's service.

§ 3. **Cossutianus Capito** was a notorious 'delator' under Claudius and Nero. In 47 A. D. he strongly opposed the enforcement of the 'lex Cincia' against the payment of advocates (*Ann.* xi 6). On the present occasion he was condemned by the senate, by whom he was tried, and was expelled from that body; four or five years later he was restored through the influence of Tigellinus, his father-in-law. For his attack on Antistius, 62 A. D., and on Thræsea, 66 A. D., see *Ann.* xiv 48, and xvi 28, 33.

**Cilices**: the formation of Cilicia as a province distinct from Syria is ascribed to Vespasian, but it may have been temporarily placed under a separate governor earlier.

**maculosum foedumque**, 'stained with foul crimes.'

**pervicaci accusatione**, 'by the determination of his accusers.'

§ 4. **Eprio Marcello**: the notorious 'delator' of Nero's time, and a confederate of Cossutianus (*Ann.* xvi 26, 28, 33). His full name was T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus; he was proconsul of Asia 70-73 A. D., and conspiring against Vespasian was compelled to commit suicide in 79 A. D.

**Lycii**: Lycia was formerly a free state, but was taken into the empire by Claudius and added to the province of Pamphylia.

**periculum**: used here (as often) for the danger involved by a criminal prosecution; cf. ch. 42. So also 'salus' often = 'acquittal.'

CH. 34, § 1. **tertium**: used adverbially, 'for the third time.' See ch. 11.



**proavum** : great-grandfather. 'Abavus,' = great-great-grandfather.

**Corvinum** : full name, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. He was a celebrated friend of Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus ; was consul with Augustus in the year of the battle of Actium (31 B.C.), and died about 9 A.D.

**abavo** : as father of Julia, who was the grandmother of Agrippina, Nero's mother.

**meminerant** : i.e. they could remember Corvinus as the man who had been Augustus' colleague, hardly the consulship itself, as it was eighty-nine years ago.

§ 2. **quingenis sestertiis** : the sum granted was 500,000 sesterces, slightly over £4,000.

**innoxiam**, 'blameless,' i.e. without trying to enrich himself by corrupt practices when in office, or by informing against fellow-citizens.

§ 3. **Cottae** : he was also descended from Corvinus.

**Haterio** : son of Haterius Agrippa, who was grandson (on his mother's side) of Agrippa, Augustus' minister, and a relation of Germanicus (*Ann.* ii 51).

§ 4. **mollibus**, &c., '(the war) which had so far dragged on feebly at its commencement, was now taken up vigorously.' See Intr. V.

**alienae**, &c., 'to hold it as a gift from a foreign power,' i.e. by acknowledging the suzerainty of Rome, as evidently the Romans had ordered him to do.

**parta olim**, &c. : at the close of the war with Mithridates (74-63 B. C.), the Armenians accepted a king nominated by Rome.

§ 5. **ambigua fide**, 'vacillating in their allegiance' (now to Rome, now to Parthia).

**illud** : i.e. subjection to the Parthians.

CH. 35, § 1. This process of disciplining the legions and recruiting in Galatia and Cappadocia must have occupied the chief part of the time since Corbulo was sent out : Intr. V 3, *ad fin.*

§ 2. **Suria** : two of the four Syrian legions had been handed over to him (ch. 8), viz. the third and sixth (ch. 38), with detachments from the tenth (ch. 40).

**munia castrorum** : duties required by active service in a hostile country.

§ 3. **stationem . . . vigilias** : 'stationes,' pickets detached on guard both in the daytime and at night; 'vigiliae' were on duty by night only, and may be distinguished from the former as being either (1) the night-patrol going round the camp, or (2) the sentinels.

**sine galeis**, &c. : not wearing full armour, as being in peaceful provinces. So the troops in Rome, even when on duty, did not wear full equipment except on special occasions (*Ann.* ii 4; *Hist* i 38; see also *Ann.* xvi 27, 1).

**nitidi**, &c., 'sleek money-makers.'

§ 4. *per Galatiam Cappadociamque*: the citizen population of these provinces would recruit the legions, the rest the auxiliaries.

*ex Germania legio*: not mentioned in the expeditionary force (ch. 40), so it was probably sent on to Syria to make up for the detachment from the tenth legion sent to Corbulo.

*cum equitibus*, &c.: 'alariis,' belonging to the 'ala,' the wing of cavalry furnished by 'socii'; 'peditatu cohortium,' 'infantry consisting of cohorts,' also 'socii.' The whole phrase means the complement of auxiliaries both of horse and foot attached to this legion.

§ 5. *retentus*, &c., 'was kept under tents,' instead of being quartered in houses for the winter. They were now encamped in the enemy's country, which they entered in the preceding year, 57 A.D. See Intr. V 3 and 4.

*obducta*: abl. with 'glacie'; *effossa*, nom. with 'humus.'

§ 6. *ambusti* refers to frost-bite, the effect being similar to a burn.

*adnotatus*: Intr. II 33.

*praeriguisset*, 'to have got frozen at the extremities (prae-), namely his hands' ('manus,' acc. of respect). Cf. 'prae-ustus.'

§ 7. *ostendere*: applied by zeugma to 'laudem' and 'solacium' as well as 'exemplum.'

§ 9. *venia*, nom.

§ 10. *usu salubre*, &c., 'was proved by experience to be salutary,' 'turned out practically effective.'

CH. 36, § 1. *ver*: that of 58 A.D., see ch. 35 and Intr. V 3, 4.

*pugnam*: Tacitus frequently uses a noun (so 'praelium,' *Ann.* iv 49, 'oppugnationem,' ii 12) instead of the usual infinitive after 'audeo.'

*primi pili*, &c., 'who had served as first centurion of his legion.' Under the empire this officer enjoyed much honour and dignity; he had charge of the legionary eagle, with large emoluments ('locupletem aquilam,' Juv. xiv 197); ranked next to the 'tribuni,' and was with them admitted to the council of the general. The *primipilatus* might even be the first step in the equestrian career, leading to the tribunate of the cohorts of the city soldiery, and then on to procuratorships.

§ 2. *casum*, 'opportunity.'

§ 3. *turmae*, 'squadrons of horse.' Their arrival gave him a pretext for taking the offensive.

§ 5. *increpitum*, 'reprimanded.'

*tendere*, 'to encamp outside the lines,' a regular punishment in the Roman army; cf. Livy x 4.

*nec nisi*, &c., 'and were only released on a petition from the whole army.'

CH. 37, § 1. *clientelas*, 'vassal states.'

*Vologesi*: genitive. See Intr. II 62.

§ 2. *frustra habitus*, 'eluded,' 'baffled.'

*circumferre bellum*, 'to enlarge the area of his operations.'

**Antiochum**: see ch. 7.

**praefecturas**, 'departments,' for purposes of military organization; there were 120 of these in Armenia. The word is also applied in *Ann.* xi 8 to the divisions of Parthia.

§ 3. **Pharasmanes**: King of Iberia, to whom Rhadamistus fled on his escape from Armenia, ch. 6.

**quasi proditore**: he now thought it politic to disavow Rhadamistus whom he had previously supported.

**quo**, &c.; dependent on 'exercebat.'

§ 4. **Moschi**: at the SE. corner of the Euxine, about the sources of the Phasis.

**socia**: referring probably to assistance rendered by them to Trajan in Tacitus' own time.

**incursavit**: attracted into the sing. by the intervention of 'gens' in apposition to 'Moschi.'

**beneficiis**: favours from Rome; **vetere**, 'long standing.'

§ 5. **ideo**, &c., 'for this reason only had Vologeses as yet made no movement, that they preferred to negotiate rather than take violent action.'

**Arsacidis**, (dat. plur. of the patronymic), 'the house of Arsaces,' founder of the royal house of Parthia, c. 250 B. C.

**saepius** . . . **clade**: referring to the defeat of Crassus 53 B. C., and of Antonius in 36 B. C.

§ 6. **Hyrkania** was at the SE. angle of the Caspian.

**suadet adgredi**: see Intr. II 31.

**posse**, &c., 'he might set his kingdom on a secure basis and avoid bloodshed if, abandoning remote and distant possibilities, he would follow the better policy immediately open to him.'

CH. 38, § 1. **in summam pacis**, 'towards the general result of peace.'

**ipsorum**, 'the generals themselves.'

§ 2. **dum**, 'provided that.'

**in faciem**, 'so as to give the appearance of.'

§ 3. **ideo**, &c., '(it was clear) that a small number was suggested on the side of the Parthians and a larger on that of the Romans, for the very purpose of arranging a treacherous attack.'

**equiti**, with 'obicerentur'; **profuturam**, sc. 'Romanis.'

§ 5. **colles**, &c., 'hills rising gently up (suitably) for the reception of the infantry lines.' **accipiendis**, dat. of purpose, varied in the next clause by 'ad' with accus.

§ 6. **regum**: Antiochus and Agrippa, ch. 7.

**pro cornibus**, 'at the extremity of each wing.'

**sextam**: from Syria, ch. 35.

**tertianorum**: men of the third legion.

**quasi**, &c., 'as if there were but one legion in sight.'

CH. 39, § 1. **fraudem**, 'an attack.'

**Pontico**, &c., 'coming by way of the Euxine and from Trapezus,' the modern Trebizond, from which point the land transport would begin. Trapezus was a flourishing port when the Ten Thousand

struck the sea there on their retreat, Xen. *Anab.* v 5, and was now a free city.

**discedit**: first northwards towards Trapezus, and then, on the failure of his plan, towards Artaxata.

§ 2. **Volandum**: exact site unknown; it stood W. of Artaxata and S. of the Araxes.

**Cornelio Flacco**: not elsewhere mentioned; he was evidently 'legatus legionis.' **Insteius Capito**, now promoted from centurion (ch. 9) to the post of 'praefectus castrorum.'

§ 4. **in testudinem conglobatos**: massed together with their shields locked above their heads.

**subruendo**: dat. of purpose.

**incutere**='conicere.'

§ 5. **libratoribus**: these worked the artillery engines ('tormenta'); the 'funditores' were armed with a sling ('funda').  
**glandes**: leaden balls.

§ 6. **obices portarum**, (1) 'barricades at the gateways,' like 'obices viarum,' Liv. ix 3; or (2) 'the obstacle presented by the gates,' like 'se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxi,' Verg. *Georg.* iv 422.

**escensu**: ἀπ. ἐρ.

§ 7. **sub corona venundatum**, 'were sold as slaves,' the profits going to the state. It was the custom for captives to be crowned with wreaths when being sold as slaves.

**cetera**, &c., 'all the rest, some through fear, others voluntarily'; the omission of 'alia' before 'terrore' implies that the majority were influenced by fear.

§ 8. **si ... transgrederentur ... dabantur**: the indicat. (instead of 'darentur' or 'dati essent') vividly states the unrealized tendency as though realized in fact: cf. ch. ii 1.

**procul et latoribus vadis**: a condensed expression, 'further off where the river was broader and so fordable' (because more shallow).

CH. 40, § 1. **concessisset**, 'should he have offered no resistance to the siege.'

**dato die**, 'when a fit day offered itself.'

§ 2. **non ignaro**, &c., 'without taking our general unawares,' since he had arranged his army ready alike for marching or fighting'; for the datives cf. ch. 32 'ultioni iuxta et securitati.'

§ 3. **decumanorum**: the main body was left with Ummidius, ch. 8.

**quibus iusserat**: cf. ch. 15, 3.

**non sequerentur**, 'non' used for 'ne' to emphasize the negation of the particular word 'sequerentur' rather than of the whole phrase: cf. 'non Teucros agat,' Verg. *Aen.* xii 78. 'proinde ... non ad unum omnia deferrent,' *Ann.* i 11.

§ 4. **productiore**, &c., 'the left wing extending out further.'

**fronte simul et sinu**, 'in front and on the flank simultaneously'; 'sinu,' the 'fold' or 'bay' in which the extended left wing would envelop the enemy making a frontal attack on the centre of the line.

§ 5. *ex diverso*: here = 'ex adverso.'

*ad ictum*, 'within range.'

*diversos*, 'when separated.'

§ 6. *ubi nihil*, &c., 'when no rash act brought on disorder, and nothing more happened except that a commander of a 'decuria' of horse, &c.' (Intr. II 58).

CH. 41, § 1. *in loco*, 'where he was'; *agitavit*, 'deliberated.'

§ 2. *Medi*: those of Media Atropatene, SE. of Armenia.

*Albani*: extending from Iberia to the Caspian.

§ 3. *ignis inmissus*: Corbulo probably passed the winter there and destroyed Artaxata next spring.

*nec id*, &c., 'we had not sufficient forces to be divided for forming a strong garrison and prosecuting the war.'

*vel si*: introducing a third alternative instead of the more usual 'sin vero.'

§ 4. *miraculum*: the ensuing description is hardly applicable to the solar eclipse of 59 A.D. (*Ann.* xiv 12), seen in Armenia by Corbulo (Pliny *N. H.* ii 70, 72, 182), but rather to a striking effect of cloud and sunshine noticed during a thunderstorm.

*cuncta Artaxatis tenus*: for *Med.* 'cuncta extra tectis actenus.' Other corrections are 'cuncta extra, tectis tenus'; 'cuncta extra tecta hactenus'; or 'cuncta hactenus,' 'extra tecta' being omitted as a gloss.

*discretum*, 'parted off from the rest' (cf. 'velo discreta,' ch. 5); rather than 'seamed.'

§ 5. *consalutatus*, &c., 'Nero was hailed imperator,' by Corbulo's soldiers. This honour was often paid by a victorious army to the effigy of the 'princeps,' when he himself was not present, in acknowledgement of his supremacy over the army. (So in 16 A.D. Germanicus' soldiers hailed Tiberius imperator after their victory over Arminius, *Ann.* ii 18.)

*continui*, 'in successive years.' Nero did not accept this.

*quo relatum*, 'on which the matter had been discussed' in the senate.

*adeo*, 'proceeding to such inordinate flattery.'

*C. Cassius*: a celebrated jurist. He had preceded Ummidius in the government of Syria: he was exiled in 65 A.D. (*Ann.* xvi 9). His ironical suggestion here does not seem to have been resented by Nero.

*pro*, 'proportionately to.'

*eoque*, &c., 'and accordingly holy days and days of business must be marked off, so that they might attend to religious duties without interfering with the affairs of this world.' ('quis' as though 'quibus ita divisus.')

CH. 42, § 1. *invidia*, 'feeling against.'

*terribilis ac venalis*, 'a terrible instrument of corruption.'

*Suillius*: formerly quaestor serving under Germanicus, and exiled by Tiberius in 24 A.D. for taking a bribe 'for a judicial decision' (*Ann.* iv 31). Under Claudius, as Messalina's agent, he

attacked Valerius Asiaticus, whose estates she coveted, 47 A.D. (*Ann.* xi 1); and there was an outcry in the senate for the enforcement of the 'lex Cincia' about the same time, because he had, as advocate, exacted a large fee from a client and then betrayed his cause (xi 5). He was proconsul of Asia towards the end of Claudius' reign, see ch. 43, where also the names of his chief victims are given.

**quantum...cuperent**, 'to such an extent as his enemies wished'; a 'limitative' use of the subjunct. after a relative, developed from the 'generic' use seen in the next clause, 'qui...mallet,' 'the sort of man who preferred.' See also *Intr.* II 41.

**demissus**: humbled.

§ 2. **senatus consultum**: see note on ch. 5, 1.

§ 3. **praeter**, &c., 'adding the freedom of extreme age to his naturally hot temper.'

**exilium**: see note on ch. 2, 1.

§ 4. **studiis inertibus**, &c., 'accustomed to academic pursuits and the society of raw striplings, he was jealous of those who employed a practical and incorrupt eloquence in the defence of fellow-citizens.' As a man of affairs, practising in the Courts, Suillius sneers at Seneca as a mere professor (of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric), living outside the world of action.

**adulterum**: this was Messalina's pretext for his banishment.

§ 5. **sponte**: advocates evaded the penalties for high fees by the fiction that what they took was a present; cf. ch. 5, 1.

§ 6. **quadriennium**: i.e. since Nero's accession. For Nero's gifts to Seneca, see ch. 18 and xiv 53-54.

§ 7. **testamenta et orbos**, 'the wills of childless persons.' *Hendiadys*, see *Intr.* II 54.

**indagine**, 'in his net,' a metaphor from hunting.

**provincias...hauriri**: possibly an allusion to the story mentioned by Dio that one of the causes of the British rebellion of 61 A.D. (*Ann.* xiv 29) was the pressure put on Seneca's debtors in Britain.

§ 8. **crimen**, &c., 'accusation, trial (see ch. 33), anything.'

**toleraturum...submitteret**, 'quam' with subjunct. (as though = 'quam ut') frequently in Livy follows a future in expressions with 'potius,' 'prius,' &c. So also Sall. *Jug.* 106 'mansurum potius quam...vitae parceret.'

**subitae felicitati**, 'the success of an upstart.' For the use of the abstr. word, cf. § 4 'iuvenum imperitiae,' and ch. 1, 1 'dominationibus.'

CH. 43, § 2. **inquisitionem annuam**, 'a year for the collection of evidence.' Cf. ch. 52. A considerable interval between the notification of intention to prosecute and the actual trial was usually given for this purpose. Cicero when attacking Verres used only fifty days in collecting his witnesses, thus baffling an attempt of the other side to get the trial put off to an occasion more favourable to themselves.

**urbana**, 'relating to his actions in the city.'

**obvii**, 'on the spot.'

§ 3. **Pomponium**: he became consul suffectus on the death of Gaius, 41 A.D., and exhorted the senate to re-establish the Republic, or at least to set up a worthy emperor, which may have furnished ground of accusation against him and driven him to join the conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus, the failure of whose designs upon the principate caused so many executions (42 A.D.).

**Iuliam**: see ch. 32, 5.

**Sabinam Poppaeam**: mother of the woman who became Nero's wife later on. Messalina had her executed, regarding her as a rival for the affections of her paramour Mnester (*Ann.* xi 1, 2).

**Valerium Asiaticum**: see ch. 42.

**Lusium Saturninum**: mentioned by Seneca among the victims under Claudius, but nothing further is known of him.

**Cornelius Lupus** was governor of Crete and Cyrene under Tiberius, and consul suffectus in 42 A.D. He and Saturninus were probably executed for participation in the plot of Camillus Scribonianus.

**iam**, 'and further,' pointing to a climax.

**equitum agmina**: more than 300, according to Suet. *Cl.* 29.

§ 4. **defendebat**, 'urged in defence.'

**commentariis**, 'the private journals' of Claudius.

§ 5. **vocem praeberet**, 'lend himself to be the mouthpiece.'

**delegent**, 'impute.'

§ 6. **parte**, 'half.' Cf. *Ann.* iii 17. Usually such 'deportatio' involved complete loss of property.

**filio**: Nerullinus. **nepti**, probably the daughter of the other son Caesoninus. **matris aut aviae**, i.e. the mother of Nerullinus and grandmother of Caesoninus' daughter.

**Baleares**: attached to the imperial province Hispania Tarraconensis.

**copiosa**: an exile even after confiscation of his goods often received a considerable portion back again as 'viaticum.'

§ 7. **repetundarum**: he may have been 'legatus' to his father when governor of Asia. In 70 A.D. he was himself proconsul of that province.

CH. 44, § 2. **vacua**, 'free,' by divorcing her husband.

**exuere**, 'disclaim,' 'repudiate.'

§ 3. **salutem . . . arbitrio**, &c., 'putting his life completely in her hands.'

§ 4. **modum**, 'moderation.'

§ 6. **exprobratio satisfactio**, 'reproaches, apologies.'

**ex qua quasi incensus**, 'after which, as though in a fit of passion' (although the deed was really premeditated), 'he stabbed her.' Med. gives 'et quastim census.' Other corrections are 'ex qua incensus,' 'ex qua statim incensus,' 'et quasi istinc cessurus.'

§ 8. **commoverat**, 'he had won some credence by the greatness of his devotion.' For 'commoverat' cf. ch. 21, 9. **exempli**, a deed worthy of being taken as an example; cf. xv 63, 3 (contrast xiv 44, 7, where 'exemplum' = 'exemplary form of punishment').

§ 9. **apud consules**: as presiding over the senate, which at

this time, as high criminal court, took cognizance of murder (see *Intr.* III 8).

*postquam*, &c., 'on the expiration of his term of office.'

*lege*: the 'lex Cornelia' of Sulla, which prescribed the penalty of 'deportatio' and forfeiture of all property.

CH. 45, § 1. *insignis*: conspicuous, as occurring in high life. 'An equally scandalous piece of wickedness,' &c.

**Poppaei Sabini**: consul in 9 A.D., and subsequently one of the most trusted of Tiberius' provincial governors: he held first Moesia, and then Achaia with Macedonia, winning triumphal honours, 'contusis Thraecum gentibus' (*Ann.* iv 46), in 26 A.D. He died in 33 A.D., having governed important provinces for twenty-four years.

*honoribus nondum functum*: Ollius had been quaestor (*Suet. Ner.* 35), so that 'honores' = 'the higher magistracies.' Cf. ch. 25, 2.

*pervertit*, 'was his ruin.' His name is not mentioned in the extant narrative of that period.

§ 2. *mater*: Poppaea. See ch. 43, 3.

*comis*, 'pleasing.' *nec absurdum ingenium*, 'a brilliant enough wit.'

*modestiam*, &c., 'she could profess modesty yet practise misconduct.'

§ 3. *famae*, &c., 'she never had been careful of her reputation, making no difference between husbands and paramours; never swayed by affection, in either herself or another, wherever there appeared a prospect of advantage, thither she transferred her favours.'

*ostenderetur*: frequentative. *Intr.* II 41.

§ 4. *agentem*, 'living,' cf. ch. 32, 5.

**Rufri Crispini**: formerly praefect of praetorians, and succeeded by Burrus in 51 A.D. (*Ann.* xii 42). He was banished after Piso's conspiracy, 65 A.D. (xv 71), and on being condemned next year he committed suicide (xvi 17).

*filium*: drowned by Nero's orders (*Suet. Ner.* 35).

**Otho**: see ch. 12. Tacitus here seems to be correcting the earlier version that he gave in the *Histories* (which is also given in *Suet.*, *Dio.*, and *Plut.*), that Otho first married Poppaea to facilitate Nero's adultery with her, and was then banished on becoming enamoured of her himself.

*flagrantissimus*: the word denotes strength in something evil, 'was notorious for his close friendship with Nero.'

CH. 46, § 2. *vota*, &c., 'the world's desire, the joys of the blest.'

§ 3. *accepto aditu*, 'on obtaining access to him first proceeded to gain influence by the arts of flattery, pretending to be mastered by her passion and captivated by Nero's beauty.'

*ad superbiam vertens*, 'turning supercilious.'

*amittere*, 'give up.'

§ 4. *cultu*, 'refinement.' *ibi* = 'apud illum,' 'there she saw a style of life worthy of the highest position.'



**paelice, &c.**, 'bound to a menial concubine in his intimacy with Acte.'

**contubernio**, 'connexion.' The word denotes the union of a male and female slave, who could not contract legal marriage.

§ 5. **familiaritate**, 'intimacy.' **congressu et comitatu**, attending his levees and accompanying him on journeys.

**aemulatus**: (1) acc. plur. of subst., after 'ageret' = 'aemuli partes sustineret,' or (2) participle, 'live in the city as one who had been his rival.'

**Lusitaniae**: north-west of Spain, including also Portugal.

**ad civilia arma**: up to 68 A.D., when he joined Galba, governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, against Nero.

**procax, &c.**, 'profligate in his leisure, but fairly self-controlled in his official life.' The genitives are somewhat bold applications of the genitive of reference, such as 'integer vitae,' Hor. *Od.* i 22. 1; 'modicus voluptatum,' Tac. *Ann.* ii 73. **temperantior**, more self-controlled than one would expect from his previous life.

CH. 47, § 1. **Sullam**: see ch. 23, § 1.

**socors, &c.**, 'setting an opposite construction on his apathetic disposition, and characterizing him as a cunning dissembler.' The ablat. of the gerund is co-ordinated with the pres. partic. for variety. See Intr. II 22 (b).

§ 2. **libertis Caesaris**: see ch. 12, § 1.

**usu, &c.**, 'a master in the intrigues of the imperial palace owing to his age and experience from Tiberius onwards.' For **abusque** cf. Intr. II 46.

**intendit**, 'intensified.'

**pons Mulvius**: two miles outside the city, on the 'via Flaminia,' which ran northwards through the Sabine country on to Ariminum.

**celebris, &c.**, 'the haunt of nightly debauchery.' (Notice the rare masculine form.)

§ 3. **regredienti**: with 'compositas,' 'laid for him if he came back along the via Flaminia.'

**Sallustianos**: laid out between the Quirinal and Pincian hills by the historian Sallust, and probably left by his adoptive son to Tiberius. To reach them Nero would turn off from the Flaminian way to the left.

**inanem**: i.e. without injuring them.

§ 4. **abhorrebat**, 'was inconsistent with the charge.'

CH. 48, § 1. **Puteolanorum**: the people of Puteoli (the ancient port of Cumae).

**quas, &c.**, 'which had been sent by the council and populace in opposition to each other.' **ordo, sc.** 'decurionum,' the municipal senate.

**ad senatum**: see ch. 4, 3.

**primi cuiusque**, 'their leading citizens.'

§ 2. **C. Cassius**: see ch. 41, 5.

§ 3. **Scribonios fratres**: Rufus and Proculus, for some years

contemporaneously legati of Upper and Lower Germany; summoned to Greece by Nero and forced to commit suicide in 67 A. D.  
*data cohorte praetoria*: by Nero.

CH. 49, § 1. *vulgarissimum*, 'most commonplace.'

*egredi*: for the infin., cf. Intr. II 31.

*numerus*, 'to exceed the number fixed for shows of gladiators.'

It is not clear whether Tacitus means (1) the number shown in a single performance, or (2) the number of performances annually permissible. Augustus limited the number of shows in Rome to two annually, and the number of gladiators at each to 120 pairs. Tiberius made a further reduction, but Gaius relaxed the rule. The number permissible in Italian towns is not known: an inscription at Pompeii mentions thirty to thirty-five pairs contending.

*Paetus*: full name, P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus. He was consul in 56 A. D., and was conspicuous for his independent attitude in the senate (see *Ann.* xiv 12, and 48; xvi 21; and for his death in 66 A. D., xvi 33-35).

*arguendae*, 'for attacking his vote.'

§ 2. *quibusque*, etc., 'and the other things on which the state depended.'

*licere*, &c.: procedure in the senate was that the presiding consuls brought forward ('*referre*') the subject of discussion, asking individual senators for their opinion ('*sententia*'). In his answer a senator might go beyond the subject ('*egredi relationem*') and bring up some other matter which he thought important, as Cato used to finish all his speeches, no matter what the subject might be, with '*delenda est Carthago*.' There would, however, be no vote of the house on a subject thus raised, unless the consuls chose to add it to their '*relatio*.' Cf. ch. 26, 2.

§ 3. *largius*, 'too profusely.' *partes*, 'departments.'

§ 4. *summa*: neut. plur. *dissimulatione*, 'by ignoring them.' *inanibus*, 'trifles.'

§ 5. *non . . . ignarum*, 'it was not because he was unaware of the present situation that he (attempted to) correct.'

*sed*, &c., 'but he paid this tribute to the honour of the senate.'

*curam*, &c., 'that they would not repress their interest in important affairs.'

CH. 50, § 1. *publicanorum*: the associations ('*societates*') of 'equites' who bought from the treasury the right of collecting the taxes in the various districts of the empire.

*vectigalia*: indirect taxes, viz. (1) '*portoria*,' customs duties levied at the frontiers of the empire and of the districts into which it was divided for financial purposes; (2) '*scriptura*,' the dues paid for use of the public pastures; (3) harbour-dues, and royalties on mining and on the manufacture of salt. Roman citizenship did not carry with it immunity from '*vectigalia*,' though it did from '*tributa*,' the direct taxes, laid on subject-peoples, which consisted of the '*decumae*,' i.e. payment of one-tenth of the produce of land occupied, or '*tributum capitis*,' an income tax paid by such as had no land.

§ 2. *impetum*, 'impulse.' *sequens*: sc. 'esse,' 'the next thing would be that.'

§ 3. *a consulibus*, &c.: i. e. by 'leges' or 'plebiscita' proposed on the occasion of the organization of new provinces, when to collect the new revenues fresh 'societates' would have to be enrolled and chartered.

*aeri*, 'being still in full vigour.'

*reliqua mox*, &c., 'next had followed arrangements whereby the amount of duties levied should be balanced with the necessary expenditure.'

§ 4. *acerbitatibus*, 'acts of oppression.'

CH. 51, § 1. *ut leges*: 'that the regulations about each tax, which had hitherto remained unpublished, should be publicly posted up.' 'Leges' = the contracts made by the 'publicani,' with the rules as to the collection of the tax ('publicum').

*petitiones*, &c., '(revenue) claims which had been allowed to drop should not be taken up after a year's interval.'

*Romae . . . essent*: referring to the ordinary judicial tribunals at home and abroad. 'Qui pro praetore aut consule essent' = governors of provinces both imperial and senatorial. (No particular mention is made of the 'procuratores' who governed minor imperial provinces: these however seem to have been subordinated to the nearest imperial 'legatus,' so that special mention of them is hardly needed.)

*extra ordinem*, 'should give prior hearing to suits against the tax collectors.'

*militibus*, 'soldiers should have their immunity (from 'vectigalia') preserved, except in the case of goods kept for purposes of trade.' For the trading of Roman soldiers in time of peace, cf. ch. 35, 3.

*frustra habita*, 'evaded.'

§ 2. *quadragesimae quinquagesimaeque*, 'duties of 2½ and 2 per cent. '; fictions under which the 'publicani' made illegal exactions.

§ 3. *subvectio*, &c., 'the conveyance of corn was rendered easier,' by lightening duties and removing restrictions.

*ne censibus*, &c., 'that the ships of merchants should not be assessed in their property, and that they should not pay property-tax upon them.' (Taxes on ships would increase the cost of transport.) This concession benefited foreign corn-dealers; Roman citizens were in any case free from 'tributum.'

CH. 52, § 1. *Camerinum*: consul suffectus 46 A. D.; put to death by Helius (see ch. 1, 3) during Nero's absence in Greece.

*Silvanum*: consul suffectus 45 A. D.; mentioned as 'legatus' of Dalmatia, *Hist.* ii 86.

*absolvit*: the trial would be in the senate, and Nero by voting first would secure acquittal.

§ 2. *tempus*: cf. ch. 43, 2.

*ilico*, 'at once.' *defendi*: for the infin. see Intr. II 31.

§ 3. *orbitate*: cf. ch. 42, 7. His supporters of course hoped to profit by his will.

**ambitu** : cf. ch. 6, 6.

CH. 53, § 1. **ad id tempus** : the last notice of affairs in Germany relates to 50 A. D. (*Ann.* xii 27-28). The period covered by the ensuing chapters begins earlier than 58 A. D.; the canal of Paulinus (§ 3) having been begun 55 A. D., and the events of chs. 54, 55 falling in 57 and 58 A. D.

**pervulgatis**, 'having become vulgarized' by being given on inadequate grounds. (Cf. *Ann.* xi 20; xii 3.)

§ 2. **Paulinus** : legatus of Lower Germany; father (or brother) of Seneca's wife (*Ann.* xv 60).

**Vetus** : consul 55 A. D. (ch. 11). He would go to his province during the same year, on being succeeded by a 'consul suffectus.' He apparently only held his province for a year (see ch. 56, 4).

§ 3. a **Druso** : he died in 9 B. C.

**aggerem** : to prevent inundation on the Gallic side (*Hist.* v 19). **copiae**, 'merchandise'; not troops, as these were drawn from the provinces rather than dispatched in any numbers from Italy.

**navigabilia**, 'open to communication with each other by ship.'

§ 4. **Belgicae** : between the Seine and the Rhine.

**studiaque**, &c., 'and court popularity with the Gallic provinces.' **formidosum**, &c., 'saying that the emperor would regard such an act with apprehension, (an argument) by which noble enterprises are often hindered.'

CH. 54, § 2. **lacus** : now absorbed in the Zuyder Zee.

**ripae** : of the old Rhine.

**sepositos** : set apart as pasturage for beasts kept for provisioning the troops; ch. 55, 3.

**Verrito et Malorige** : perhaps 'Werreit' and 'Malrich' in German.

**in quantum**, &c., 'so far as the Germans are subject to kings.'

§ 3. **Dubius Avitus** : consul suffectus with Thræsea in the latter months of 56 A. D. He is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv 7) as 'legatus' of Aquitania, which province he held before his consulship. **suscipere** : Intr. 11 31.

§ 4. **aliis curis intentum**, 'absorbed in other business.'

**Pompei theatrum** : the first permanent theatre in Rome, dating from Pompeius' second consulship, 55 B. C.

§ 5. **per otium**, 'being unoccupied.'

**neque enim**, &c., 'for not understanding it they were not amused with the performance.'

**consessum caveae**, &c.: the general body of the audience, contrasted with those who had special seats ('discrimina ordinum'); i.e. the knights, who had the first fourteen rows, and the senators, who sat in the 'orchestra.'

**quis** : sc. 'sedibus.'

**perecontantur** : applied by zeugma to 'consessum' and 'discrimina,' as well as to 'quis eques, ubi senatus.' (Cf. ch. 35, 7.)

**amicitia Romana**, 'friendship towards Rome.' This privilege was given anciently to the Massilians, and was also given by Julius

Caesar to Hyrcanus and his sons. Augustus forbade the introduction of foreigners into the senate's seats, but his prohibition had evidently come to be disregarded. Suetonius relates the same incident as having happened in the reign of Claudius (*Cl.* 25), describing the ambassadors whom the Germans saw as Parthians and Armenians.

§ 6. **comiter**, 'good naturedly.'

**quasi**, &c., 'as (a mark) of primitive impetuosity and (an act of) praiseworthy rivalry.'

CH. 55, § 1. **agros**: the district referred to lay between the Rhine, the Lippe, and the Ems.

**Ampsivarii**: the name is connected with 'Amisia,' the ancient name of the river Ems.

**Chaucis**: a powerful German tribe whose invasion of Lower Germany was stopped by Corbulo, about 47 A. D. (*Ann.* xi 18). Their proper territory lay on either side of the lower Weser (*Germ.* 35).

§ 2. **aderat iis**, 'came to plead for them,' as their advocate.

**rebellione Cherusca**: the rising against Varus, headed by Arminius, in 9 A. D., after which Tiberius was general in Germany for two years, and Germanicus from 13 to 16 A. D. The Cherusci were N.E. of the Chatti, and held the country between the Elbe and the Weser, i.e. portions of Hanover and Brunswick.

**quingenta**: reckoning from Varus' disaster, 9 A. D.

**subiceret**, 'kept obedient' through all that time.

§ 3. **quo . . . iacere**, 'to what purpose was so vast a space left vacant?' Cf. 'quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?' (*Hor. Ep.* i 5, 12).

**in quam**, &c., 'that the flocks and herds of the soldiers might occasionally be sent across to it?' i.e. why leave so much ground unoccupied when it was so seldom used? *Med.* 'quotam partem,' &c., 'how small a fraction of the land was that to which the flocks were now and then sent'; i.e. how small a part was ever used for its alleged purpose. Taken thus, 'iacere' may be regarded as a gloss for 'esse' understood.

§ 4. **servarent sane**, &c.: sarcastically; 'by all means let them keep preserves for their flocks while human beings were starving, only let them not prefer an uninhabited wilderness to friendly tribes (in their neighbourhood).' **receptus** and **famem** are corrections for 'receptos' and 'famam.' If we retain the two latter words, we may render, 'let them preserve them, received among their flocks (i.e. give them a refuge with their cattle), within range of a human voice,' or 'amid human report' (i.e. still known among men); but the latter expression is unnatural.

§ 5. **Chamavorum**: mentioned in *Germ.* 33; in Tacitus' time they had moved further into the interior from their original position near the Rhine.

**Tubantum**: a tribe who had originally lived near the Yssel and migrated in a south-easterly direction to a position south of the Ruhr.

**Usiporum**: the Usipi (also written 'Usipetes') are usually mentioned in conjunction with the Tencteri (*Germ.* 32); they

fronted the Rhine through a considerable part of Lower Germany. In the time of Domitian they furnished a cohort for service in Britain (*Agr.* 28).

*vacuae*, 'unoccupied.' *publicas*, 'common property.'

§ 6. *mare superfunderent*: an imprecation natural to a barbarian familiar with the inundations of the Low Countries.

CH. 56, § 1. *commotus*, 'was impressed.'

*patienda*: sc. 'ait.'

§ 2. *in publicum*, 'addressed to them as a nation.' Cf. 'in commune,' xv 63, 1.

§ 3. *desse*: sc. 'potest.'

*in vitam*: = 'in qua vivamus.' MS. gives 'terram vivam.'

§ 4. *Bructeros*: these joined Arminius, 9 A. D., and captured one of Varus' eagles, which was recovered A. D. 15 (*Ann.* i 60). They lived on the Lippe, near Münster.

*Tencteros*: a tribe who lived along the Rhine, next to the Usipi, and were famous as cavalry (*Germ.* 32).

*socias bello*: predicatively, 'to join them in war.'

*Curtiliū Manciam*: successor to *Vetus* (cf. ch. 53, 2).

§ 6. *Chattos*: their name is thought to survive in the modern Hessen, which, with part of Nassau, represents their locality (part of the 'Hercynius saltus').

*Cheruscos*: see ch. 55, 2.

*errore longo*, &c., 'in their long wanderings being first received hospitably, then left destitute, and then treated as foes, their fighting men were massacred in an enemy's country.' For the case, see *Intr.* II 22.

CH. 57, § 1. *Hermunduros*: inhabiting parts of Franconia and Thuringia.

*flumen*: probably the Werra, the eastern branch of the Weser, near which are the salt springs of Salzungen.

*vi trahunt*, 'each forcibly appropriate.'

*religione insita*, 'through a deeply-rooted superstition that.'

*propius*, 'from a nearer point.' Woods, groves, and streams were generally looked on as the abode of deities by the Germans; and Tacitus implies that the Germans held this spot to be especially sacred from the presence of salt, as a divine gift.

§ 2. *eluvie*, &c., 'from a pool left by the sea when the water evaporates.' *fusa*: abl. abs., sc. 'unda.'

*ex contrariis*, &c.: the elder Pliny gives a similar description: 'Galliae Germaniaeque ardentibus lignis aquam salsam infundunt.' The fire would cause speedy evaporation and salt would be deposited, but the process described is so rude and would yield so little as to suggest that the water was really boiled down in pans.

§ 3. *victores*, 'either side in the event of victory.'

*diversam aciem*, 'the army of the enemy.' So in xiv 30, 1.

*Marti ac Mercurio*: *Tiu* or *Ziu*, and *Wodan* or *Wuotan*, names from which respectively are derived 'Tuesday' and 'Wednesday.'

§ 4. *minae hostiles*, &c., 'threats on the part of our foes proved

disastrous to themselves.' The Chatti were enemies of Rome, and the Hermunduri friendly.

**Ubiorem**: their capital was converted into 'Colonia Agrippinensis' (Köln, Cologne) in 50 A. D. (*Ann.* xii 27).

§ 5. **terra editi**: possibly from the burning of a peat-moor.

§ 6. **ira cladis** = 'ira ob cladem.' Cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii 413 'ereptae virginis ira.'

**iacere**: historic infin., unusual after 'donec' (*Intr.* II 34).

**resistentibus**, 'coming to a standstill.'

§ 7. **oppressura**, &c., 'as likely to quench the flames, the commoner and more soiled by use they were.'

CH. 58. **Ruminalem**: the 'ficus Ruminalis' was believed to have been that under which the wolf suckled the twins, the name being derived from 'rumis' or 'ruma,' an old word for 'mamma,' which gave its name to a goddess 'Rumina.' It was believed to have stood originally in the 'Lupercal,' on the Palatine, but to have been miraculously removed by Attus Navius, the augur of Tarquinius Priscus, to the 'comitium,' i. e. the part of the Forum nearest to the Capitol, where the bronze group of the wolf and twins stood near it.

## ANNALS. BOOK XIV

**A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59. C. Vipstanus Apronianus, C. Fonteius Capito, coss.**

**Ch. 1-13.** Murder of Agrippina.

1. Nero urged against his mother by Poppaea. 2. Story of her schemes for the recovery of her influence. 3. Difficulty of perpetrating the murder: a ship contrived for the purpose by Anicetus. 4. Nero receives her at Bauli with great show of affection. 5, 6. Her friends Crepereius Gallus and Acerronia killed; she escapes with life. 7. Nero in alarm consults Seneca and Burrus. 8. Anicetus, with a body of 'classiarii,' kills her. 9. Her burial: prediction of her fate. 10. Nero's terror composed by his courtiers. 11. Story made up to the senate by Seneca. 12. Servility of the senate except Thræsea: persons exiled by Agrippina restored. 13. Nero received in Rome with public demonstrations: he plunges into various excesses.

**Ch. 14-19.** Affairs at Rome.

14. Nero exhibits himself as a charioteer. 15. The Juvenalia: demoralisation of Roman society. 16. He composes verses, and listens to disputations. 17. Riot at Pompeii. 18. Pedius Blaesus condemned; Acilius Strabo acquitted. Death of Domitius Afer and M. Servilius.

**A. U. C. 813, A. D. 60. Nero Caesar IV, Cornelius Cossus Lentulus, coss.**

**Ch. 20-22.** Affairs at Rome.

20, 21. Institution of quinquennial Greek games at Rome, and opinions on them: the prize of eloquence awarded to Nero. 22. Appearance of a comet: Rubellius Plautus induced to go into voluntary exile: illness of Nero ascribed to divine displeasure.

**Ch. 23-26.** Affairs in the East.

23. Corbulo advances from Artaxata and chastises the Mardi. 24. He escapes assassination and occupies Tigranocerta. 25.



## BOOK XIV. SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

He takes Legerda and receives a friendly embassy from the Hyrcanians. 26. Tigranes sent from Rome and set up as king of Armenia: Corbulo retires to the government of Syria. 27. Earthquake at Laodicea; Puteoli made a colony: colonists sent to Antium and Tarentum. 28. Election of praetors arranged: regulation of appeals to senate: Vibius Secundus condemned.

**A. U. C. 814, A. D. 61. L. Caesennius Paetus, P. Petronius Turpilianus, coss.**

### **Ch. 29-39. Affairs in Britain.**

29-30. Suetonius Paulinus attacks and overcomes the Druids in Mona. 31. Causes of the insurrection of the Iceni, under Boudicca, and of the Trinovantes. 32. Camulodunum sacked: the Ninth legion cut to pieces. 33. Suetonius reaches but abandons Londinium: great massacre there and at Verulamium. 34-37. Great battle: speeches of Boudicca and Suetonius: the Britons defeated with great slaughter: suicide of Boudicca by poison, and of Poenius Postumus, in command of the Second legion. 38. Complaint by the procurator Classicianus of the extreme severity of Suetonius. 39. Polyclitus the freedman sent to inspect and report: Suetonius succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus.

### **Ch. 40-47. Affairs in Rome.**

40, 41. Condemnation of Fabianus, Antonius Primus, and others, on charges connected with a forged will. 42. Murder of Pedanius Secundus, the praefectus urbis, by one of his own slaves. 43-45. Question respecting the execution of the whole household; speech of C. Cassius; the sentence carried out with difficulty. 46. Condemnation of Tarquitius Priscus for extortion: census held in Gaul. 47. Death and character of Memmius Regulus: a gymnasium dedicated.

**A. U. C. 815, A. D. 62. P. Marius, L. Afinius, coss.**

### **Ch. 48-65. Affairs at Rome.**

48, 49. Revival of the law of 'maiestas,' after long interval, against L. Antistius the praetor; Thrasea speaks against the punishment of death; his opinion followed by the senate and allowed by Nero. 50. Fabricius Veiento banished for libels and venality. 51. Death of Burrus, alleged to be by poison: Faenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus made praefecti praetorio in his place. 52-56. The position of Seneca imperilled by accusers; interchange of speeches between him and Nero; his retirement from publicity. 57-59. Murder of Sulla at Massilia and Rubellius

Plautus in Asia at the instigation of Tigellinus: mockery of senatorial sentence after their deaths. 60. Divorce of Octavia notwithstanding the break-down of the charge against her: marriage of Nero to Poppaea. 61. Popular rising in favour of Octavia; alarm of Poppaea. 62-64. New charge fabricated by Anicetus: Octavia banished to Pandateria and there murdered: servile decrees of the senate. 65. Deaths of Pallas and Doryphorus, supposed to have been poisoned by Nero: charge of Romanus, leading to the conspiracy of Piso.

CH. 1, § 1. **C. Vipstanus Apronianus** is mentioned in *Hist.* i 76 as proconsul of Africa, in 69 A. D.

**C. Fonteius Capito**, legatus of Lower Germany in 68 A. D., bore an evil name for avarice and other vices, and was killed by his own officers (*Hist.* i 7, &c.).

**flagrantior**, 'becoming more ardent daily in his love for Poppaea.'  
**Poppaeae**: cf. xiii 45.

**crebris criminationibus**: coupled with 'per facetias' as adverbial adjunct to 'incusaret': 'would frequently ply Nero with reproaches and at times jestingly rally him as a mere ward.'

**incusaret**: subjunct. after 'quae' either as denoting repeated action, which is indicated in the antecedent sentence by 'flagrantior in dies,' or perhaps causal; cf. *Intr.* II 41.

§ 2. **avos**: the plural is an exaggeration (cf. 'saepe' xiii 6, 1; 'Lucullos' xv 14, 3). She refers to the triumph of Poppaeus Sabinus. Cf. xiii 45. For her child, cf. *ibid.* § 4.

**verum animum**, 'sincere affection.'

§ 3. **iniurias patrum**, 'her insults on the senate.' Cf. ch. II, 1.

§ 4. **Otho** was probably now in Lusitania; xiii 46, 5.

**audiret**: final, after 'ubi.' **imperatoris**: objective gen.

**viseret**: 'rather than have them before her eyes, herself involved in his peril.' **inmixta**: nom. fem.

§ 5. **penetrantia**: sc. 'animum Neronis.'

CH. 3, § 1. **igitur**: i.e. owing to Acte's representations.

**aut**: the contrasted alternatives are (1) her (suburban) gardens, or (2) one of her estates away from Rome, such as that at Tusculum or Antium.

**hortos**: probably 'the gardens of Lucullus,' the chief ornament of the Pincian hill. They became imperial property when Messalina procured the death of their owner Asiaticus, 47 A. D. (*Ann.* xi 3).

**Antium**: an ancient colony and favourite imperial residence. It was the birthplace both of Gaius and Nero.

§ 2. **praegravem**, 'unduly dangerous.'

**hactenus**, 'deliberating on this question only,' i.e. as to the method of killing her, her murder being already decided upon.

§ 3. **temptare**, 'tamper with,' i.e. bribe to administer the poison.

**arduum**, 'too difficult,' 'impracticable.' Cf. Cicero's use of 'longum est': 'it is too long,' 'it would be tedious.'

**praesumendo**, &c., 'had fortified her system by a previous course of antidotes.'

§ 4. **metuebant**: subject understood, 'Nero and his advisers.'

§ 5. **obtulit ingenium**, 'brought his ingenuity into play.'

**libertus**: a 'praefectus classi' was usually but not invariably of equestrian rank, cf. *Ann.* xiii 30, 2; *Hist.* i 87, 2. For the imperial naval stations cf. *Ann.* xiii 30, 2.

**pueritiae**: cf. xiii 2, 2 'rectores imperatoriae iuventae.'

**educator**: παιδαγωγός. Cf. xiii 15, 6.

**mutuis**, &c., 'fully reciprocating Agrippina's dislike.'

§ 6. **per artem soluta**, 'artificially' (or 'ingeniously') giving way.'

**nihil**, &c., 'nothing gave such an opening for accidents as the sea.'

§ 7. **iniquum**, 'ill-disposed.'

**quod**, &c., 'what was the fault of the wind and waves.'

**defunctae**: take with 'templum et aras' rather than immediately with 'additurum.'

CH. 4, § 1. **Quinquatruum**: a festival of Minerva, held March 19-23. Ovid mentions it as being especially celebrated by workers in the arts and by children (*Fasti* iii 809 and foll.), and derives it wrongly from the fact that it lasted five days. The name (according to Varro) properly comes from a Tusculan word equivalent to 'quintus,' and denotes that the feast began on the fifth day, reckoning inclusively, from the Ides.

**frequentabat**, 'he (Nero) used to attend.'

§ 2. **ferendas**, &c., 'that children must bear their parents' anger and allay their temper.'

**facili**, &c., 'with a woman's ready credence for pleasant news.'

§ 3. **Antio**: she came thence by ship. Suetonius says that on her arrival at Baiae Nero had her own ship disabled as though by accident, and then put at her disposal, during her visit, the ship that had been designed for her murder.

**Baulos**: a villa just beyond Baiae in the direction of Misenum. The name of the place was believed to be derived from its having been the resting-place of Hercules and the herds of Geryon (βοαύλια). Tacitus' account makes Nero conduct her from Baiae to Bauli, which is her residence during this visit: he invites her to dinner at his own villa at Baiae, whither she goes in a litter: for her return she is persuaded to use the fatal ship, which Nero had put at her service (§ 5).

§ 4. **Baianum lacum**: the innermost portion of the bay, between Baiae and Puteoli.

**flexo mari**, 'by a bend of the sea.'

§ 5. **sueverat**: i.e. before her estrangement with Nero.

**classiariorum remigio**, 'with a crew of marines of the fleet'

§ 6. **ambiguam**, 'doubting.'

§ 7. **blandimentum**, 'Nero's attentiveness.'

**super ipsum**: according to the ordinary arrangement of the 'triclinium,' 'infra' is the position of a person reclining (on the left

## TACITUS ANNALS: NOTES

below) with his back turned to the person 'supra,' and the host took the position 7 in the diagram, 'below' the most honoured guest who was at 6:—

Iectus medius									
<table><tr><th>imus</th><th>medius</th><th>summus</th></tr></table>							imus	medius	summus
imus	medius	summus							
Iectus imus	summus	7	6	5	4	3	imus		
	medius	8				2	medius		
	imus	9				1	summus		
Iectus summus									

In this case probably Nero and Agrippina, owing to their rank, occupied the 'lectus medius' alone.

§ 8. **pluribus sermonibus**: abl. instr., with 'tracto.'

**familiaritate iuvenili**: abl. of description, having the nominative adj. 'adductus' (= 'grave') co-ordinated with it, for variety, instead of another similar abl. expression: see Intr. II 64 (f).

**artius**, &c., '(kissing) her eyes and clinging closely to her breast.'

**explenda simulatione**, 'by way of filling up the measure of his hypocrisy.' For the abl. see Intr. II 22 (b).

**quamvis**: take with 'ferum,' 'even his savage heart.'

CH. 5, § 2. **super pedes**, &c.: Acerronia was sitting on a lower seat and leaning over ('reclinis') the feet of Agrippina, who lay on a couch.

**ruere**: historic infinitive.

**loci**: the cabin on the deck where Agrippina was resting.

§ 3. **eminentibus**, &c., 'thanks to the framework of the couch projecting and happening to be strong enough to resist the weight (of the falling roof).'

§ 5. **remigibus**: i.e. those of the rowers who were in the plot.

**inclinare**: sc. 'se,' 'to throw their weight.'

**ipsis**, the conspirators; **alii**, those not in the plot.

**promptus**, &c., 'did not act together with sufficient promptitude for this sudden stroke.'

**dedere**, &c., 'made it possible for her to slip gently into the water.'

§ 6. **inprudencia**, 'in her ignorance of the situation,' hoping to be saved by passing as Agrippina.

§ 7. **lenunculatorum**: small fishing-boats.

**villae suae**: i.e. Bauli.

CH. 6, § 1. **summa sui parte**, 'in its upper part,' abl. of the part affected.

**concidisset**, &c., 'had given way, just as any mechanism on dry land might have done'; i.e. the sea had nothing to do with

causing the accident. The verb is subjunct. as giving Agrippina's reason.

**fortuna eius**, 'thanks to his good fortune.'

§ 2. **securitate**, 'freedom from anxiety.'

**obsignari**, 'to be sealed up,' indicating some kind of formal inventory being taken, a measure preparatory to executing the legacies under the will.

**id tantum**, &c., 'in this alone acting without pretence.' She probably knew that Acerronia had left her something, and at once took measures towards securing her legacy, not losing her love of money ('*ingenita avaritia*,' xiii 18, 3) even in this crisis.

CH. 7, § 1. **hactenus**, &c., 'having gone far enough in peril to have no doubt as to the instigator.' This use of 'ne' in introducing a result is peculiar, but is perhaps explicable as containing, half ironically, a *final* shade of meaning, i.e. that the plot seemed to have failed thus for the very purpose of showing up Nero's guilt (cf. ch. 5, 1).

§ 2. **vindictae**: probably genit. So also '*irae properum*,' xi 26, 4.

**sive . . . sive**: the alternatives Nero anticipates are (1) an immediate rising effected by an appeal to the soldiers and sailors, (2) an attempt to set the constitutional forces of senate and people against him. **sive . . . sive** introduce protases to '*quod subsidium (fore)*.'

**obiciendo**: dat. of purpose.

**nisi quid**: understand a verb, 'might suggest something.' For similar disjointed and elliptic language in strong excitement cf. ch. 8, § 4 (Intr. II 27).

The text given here is corrected from Med. '*expergens quos statim acciverat incertum an et ante ignaros*.' Other suggestions are (1) '*expedirent: quos statim acciverat*,' &c., and (2) '*quos statim acciverat incertum an aperiens* ('disclosing his plot') et ante ignaros.' Notice that the final adjective is in agreement with '*quos*,' and is unaffected in case by '*incertum an*,' which qualifies its meaning, (= 'perhaps'). If (2) be adopted '*incertum an*' only qualifies '*aperiens*.'

§ 3. **igitur**: because of Nero's terror, which made them hesitate to dissuade him from the murder as they felt argument would be in vain with him.

**an**, &c., 'or perhaps they really thought that things had come to such a pass that'; cf. '*eo ventum ut*,' xi 26, 2.

§ 4. **hactenus promptius**, 'was so far the readier as to look at Burrus and ask.'

**militi**: the praetorians in attendance.

§ 5. **toti domui**: the military 'sacramentum' bound the soldiers to the protection of all the members of the imperial family. The expression here, however, might denote merely personal attachment.

**summam sceleris**, 'the chief part in executing the crime.' Cf. '*Antonio permissa summa expeditionis*,' *Hist.* i 87, 2.

§ 7. *ultro*, &c., 'took it on himself to make up a stage effect to support a charge.'

CH. 8, § 1. *interim*: the narrative is taken up from the end of ch. 5.

*vulgato* . . . *quasi*, 'made known as the result of an accident.' See Intr. II 50.

*decurrere*: historic infinitive. So also '*scandere*,' &c. in § 2.

§ 2. *molium obiectus* = 'objectas moles'; Intr. II 57. Cf. '*strata viarum*' in Vergil, *Aen.* i 422. The words denote embankments to reclaim land from the sea, like those referred to in Horace, *Od.* ii 18, 20.

*ut ad gratandum*: this use of '*ut*' like that of '*tamquam*' and '*quasi*' (see Intr. II 50) need not imply that the intention was insincere, but merely that such an intention was to be inferred from the act.

§ 3. *servorum*: partitive genit.

*exterritis*, 'frightened away,' cf. xiii 56, 5.

§ 4. *anxia*: abl. abs. In the following clauses, which express Agrippina's thoughts, supply '*veniret*' after '*quod*,' and '*esse*' with '*solitudinem*.'

*laetae rei*: corrected from Med. '*laetaeret*.'

§ 5. *respicit*, 'looks behind her and sees.' Cf. Verg. *Aen.* v 167 '*Cloanthum | respicit instantem tergo*.'

*trierarcho*: for this title see note on xv 51, 2.

*classiario*: Anicetus brought sailors because the land troops could not be relied on to act against Agrippina.

*ac*, &c.: the following words are in *oratio obliqua*.

§ 6. *in mortem*, 'for the death-blow.'

*ventrem feri*: '*παίε ταύτην* (i.e. *τὴν γαστέρα*) ὅτι Νέρωνα ἔτεκεν,' Dio lxi 13, 5.

*exclamavit*: we must understand that her cry was uttered as the centurion drew his sword and before she received the blow on the head from the trierarch.

CH. 9, § 1. *aspexeritne*, &c.: instead of the infin. which we should expect after '*tradiderint*,' a form of expression is used as if '*incertum est*' followed. Cf. xii 52, 3 '*morte fortuita an per venenum extinctus esset, ut quisque credidit, vulgare*.' Cf. Intr. II 58.

*formam*: Dio describes Nero as saying *οὐκ ᾔδειν ὅτι οὕτω καλὴν μητέρα εἶχον*.

§ 2. *convivali*: a couch taken from the dining-room, instead of a proper '*lectus funebris*.'

*congesta aut clausa*, 'raised in a mound or enclosed in stone-work.' Some sort of '*tumulus*,' however, marked her burial-place from the first, ch. 10, 5.

§ 3. *mox*: a few years later. The '*levis tumulus*' might be a small stone structure.

*villam Caesaris*: Seneca (*Ep.* 51. 11) refers to villas on the heights overlooking Baiae, owned by Marius and Pompeius as well as Julius Caesar.

§ 5. *contempserat*, 'had made light of.'

*Chaldaei*, 'astrologers,' called also by Tacitus 'mathematici' and 'periti coelestium.' This prediction was perhaps the one made by the son of Tiberius' astrologer Thrasyllus (vi 22, 6).

CH. 10, § 1. *perfecto demum*, &c., 'not till the crime was completed was its enormity grasped by Nero.' [Intr. II 21 (c).]

*reliquo noctis*: see Intr. II 15.

§ 2. *centurionum tribunorumque*: those of the praetorians in attendance, who constituted the chief source of his danger; cf. ch. 7, 5.

§ 3. *municipia*: used of the Italian towns in general.

§ 4. *diversa simulatione*, 'with an opposite kind of pretence,' i.e. he assumed grief while they professed gladness. Cf. 'diversa fama,' 'with an opposite kind of talk,' cf. xvi 2, 2.

§ 5. *vultus*, 'looks,' altering in expression: *facies*, 'aspect,' the permanent features.

*obversabaturque*, &c., 'and the sight of that sea and shore ever before his eyes was dreadful to him.'

*percussorem*: predicative, 'with murderous intent.'

*conscientia*, &c., 'from the guilty consciousness of having plotted murder,' *quasi* introduces the substance of Agrippina's supposed reflections; cf. ch. 8, 1 'vulgato . . . quasi . . . evenisset,' and Intr. II 50.

CH. 11, § 1. *repetita*, 'harking back to far previous occurrences.'

*consortium imperii*, 'a partnership in empire,' meaning a formal recognition of joint sovereignty with Nero, beyond the privileges which she actually enjoyed.

*iuraturas in verba*: the ordinary 'sacramentum' taken by army, senate, and people to the 'princeps,' extended in some measure to all the members of the imperial family; cf. ch. 7, 5: here Agrippina is charged with having aimed at more than this, viz., to receive an independent oath of allegiance co-ordinate with that taken to her son.

*idem dedecus*: that of taking the oath to her.

*donativum*: on his accession (xii 69, 3).

*congariarum*: in his second consulship (xiii 31, 2).

*pericula*, &c.: referring to her murder of Silanus and the other intended murders described in xiii chs. 1 and 2.

§ 2. *ne inrumperet*, &c.: cf. xiii 5.

*obliqua insectatione*, 'making an indirect attack on.'

§ 3. *namque*: the sequence of thought is 'no wonder Nero represented her death as an accident attesting Rome's good fortune, for he even told the tale of her shipwreck as though that also was a special intervention of Heaven to rid Rome of her.'

*cohortes . . . classes*: rhetorical exaggerations for the one praetorian cohort in attendance and the fleet at Misenum.

§ 4. *omnium*, &c., 'was beyond all terms of remonstrance.'

**adverso rumore:** abl. of quality, cf. 'claro rumore erat,' xv 48, 2.  
**confessionem:** i.e. the story was so flimsy that the letter amounted to a confession of murder.

CH. 12, § 1. **supplicationes . . . pulvinaria:** this usual formula also occurs in Cic. *Cat.* iii 10, 23 and denotes that sacrifice was offered in every temple in which a 'lectisternium' (to gods) or 'sellisternium' (to goddesses) was held.

**Minervae:** because the 'Quinquatrus' were held in honour of this goddess.

**dies natalis:** Nov. 6 (a. d. viii Id. Nov.).

§ 2. **Thrasea Paetus:** see xiii 49, 1, and also chs. 48 and 49, where Tacitus seems to somewhat disparage his conduct.

**transmittere,** 'to let pass.'

**ac sibi, &c.,** 'exposed himself to danger without leading the rest to assert their independence.'

§ 3. **inrita,** 'ineffective,' in the sense that the interpretation put upon the prodigies was not borne out by the event.

**sol obscuratus:** an eclipse, April 30, 59 A.D., which is mentioned by the elder Pliny as seen in Italy soon after noon, and by Corbulo in Asia three hours later. **iam** here, like 'iam vero,' marking a climax; so in xiii 43, 3.

**regiones:** the 'wards,' fourteen in number, into which the city was divided for administrative purposes.

§ 4. **quae adeo, &c.,** 'so far were these occurrences from being due to divine intervention that . . .'

§ 5. **gravaret,** 'aggravate,' 'intensify.'

**Iunia Calvina** was sister of L. Silanus, who was originally betrothed to Octavia and committed suicide on Agrippina's marriage with Claudius, 49 A.D. (xii 8).

**Calpurnia** was banished through Agrippina's jealousy of her beauty, 49 A.D. (xii 22, 3).

**Valerius Capito** and **Licinius Gabolus** are otherwise unknown.

§ 6. **Lollia Paulina** was exiled and then put to death for having been Agrippina's rival for marriage with Claudius, xii 1 and 22, 4.

§ 7. **nam:** the mention of Iturius and Calvisius naturally leads to that of Silana, with whose case they were connected (xiii 19 and 22).

**longinquo,** 'distant.'

CH. 13, § 1. **quonam modo:** dependent on 'anxius.' **an . . . an'** are not opposed, but repeated, by anaphora.

**detrinimus quisque, &c.,** 'all the most depraved (courtiers), of whom no palace ever had a greater abundance.'

**praegredi exposcunt:** see Intr. II 31.

§ 2. **promptiora, &c.,** 'a servility exceeding what they had promised.'

**per sexum, &c.,** 'ranged according to age and sex.'

**qua incederet,** frequentative subjunct., cf. Intr. II 41. **spectaculorum, &c.,** 'tiers of seats erected at every stage of his route.'



§ 3. *superbus*, &c., 'proudly celebrating his victory over the enslaved public.' *servitii victor*: the genitive shows in what his victory consisted, just as '*vincere publicum servitium*' would express 'to win a victory consisting in the servility of the public.'

*libidines*, 'vicious extravagances,' especially those acts described in the following chapter, evidently regarded by Tacitus as indicating the lowest depths of degeneracy.

*quas*, &c., 'which, though repressed with difficulty, he had nevertheless deferred from a certain respect for his mother.'

CH. 14, § 1. *curriculo* = '*curru*'; so xv 44, 7.

*ludicrum in modum*, 'in the manner of a public performer'; cf. '*ludicrae artes*,' 'accomplishments as a performer,' ch. 16, 1.

*concertare equis*: this is a correction from Med. '*cum celaret qs.*' The manuscript has '*cenaret*' written above '*celaret*'; *qs.* is abbreviated for '*quis*.'

*regium*: cf. *II.* 23, 287 and foll., for the funeral games of Patroclus, in which Greek princes personally contend in chariot-races. In historical times princes, like Hiero, and individual citizens, like Alcibiades (included here under the term '*duces*'), sent to the games chariots entered in their name.

*vatum*: such as Pindar, and other lyric poets, who wrote panegyrics on victorious athletes.

*deorum honori datum*: the chariot-race was part of the worship of the god in whose honour the games were held.

§ 2. *enimvero*: the particle here lays stress on what follows as a still more important consideration.

*tali ornatu*: that of a citharoedus, in which Nero was often represented on coins.

§ 3. *utraque*, 'lest he should carry both points.'

§ 4. *clausum . . . spatium*: a circus begun by Gaius, and standing in part of the space now occupied by St. Peter's. An obelisk with which Gaius adorned it now stands in the Piazza.

*haud promisco*, 'the sight not being open to all.' Cf. '*promiscas scenas*,' xv 33, 1.

§ 5. *evulgatus pudor*, 'the publicity of his shame.'

*molliri*, 'to be mitigated.'

*nobilium*: Julius Caesar had forced the knight Laberius to appear on the public stage; this was forbidden to '*nobiles*' under Augustus by a '*senatus consultum*,' and Tiberius punished with exile those who broke the decree.

*ne nominatim*: Dio mentions Furii, Fabii, Porcii, and Valerii as appearing in this way, and adds that the provincials present pointed in scorn to the descendants of their conquerors. Cf. also *Juv.* viii 191.

*nam et*: this gives another reason for withholding names,—the disgrace was Nero's rather than theirs.

*quam ne delinquerent*: cf. xiii 34, 2, where Nero followed the policy Tacitus recommends!

§ 6. *operas*, 'their services in the arena,' i.e. as gladiators or 'bestiarii.'

*nisi quod*: qualifying the idea that these gifts were merely inducements,—'were it not that payment from one who can command carries the force of compulsion.'

CH. 15, § 1. *ne tamen adhuc*: Nero ceased to confine his performances to semi-private entertainments in 64 A.D. (xv 33), when he exhibited himself as a public singer at Naples.

*instituit ludos*: the first clipping of a young Roman's beard was the occasion of a festival in his family: Nero marked this event in his own case by the institution of the 'Juvenalia,' and repeated the festival annually in his own private grounds, himself taking part in the performances given.

*passim nomina data*, 'names were given in from all classes,' by persons wishing to compete. The phrase is a metaphor from soldiers answering to the conscription: cf. also xv 48, 1.

§ 2. *Graeci . . . histrionis*: referring to the performance of Greek tragedies modified so as to consist of gesticulation and song (cf. 'gestus modosque,' below). For 'histrion' cf. xiii 19, 4.

§ 3. *deformia*, &c., 'studied degrading parts.'

*nemus*: this was laid out by Augustus round the 'stagnum' across the Tiber, where contests of ships were exhibited. Cf. *Mon. Anc.* iv 43 'navalis proeli spectaclum populo dedi trans Tiberim in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum.'

*conventicula*, 'assembly rooms.'

*stipes*: (1) 'doles' from the emperor, to be spent then and there, or (2) 'payment' coming from the public in the shape of entrance money. The following clause 'spent by the good under compulsion, and by the vicious from vanity' seems to favour (2). *Gloria*, a reprehensible exultation in having made small gains by their own degradation: *consumerent*, frequentative.

§ 4. *inde*, &c., 'to this was due the spread of abomination and infamy, and nothing brought more corruption to our already depraved manners than did the filthy herd thus swept together.'

*nec ulla*: the fem. adj. is used rather than 'quidquam' under the anticipation of the final word 'colluvies.'

§ 6. *multa cura*, &c., 'tuning his lyre with intense care, and singing his prelude with his instructors at hand.'

*phonascis* is reconstructed from Med. 'facies,' on the supposition that this is a corruption of 'fōascis.' The correction is supported by a passage of Suetonius describing Nero as never addressing soldiers or people '*nisi astante phonasco*' (*Ner.* 25).

§ 7. *maerens ac laudans*, 'distressed and yet applauding.' An adversative meaning is taken by a copulative conjunction when the words joined are sufficiently opposed in meaning, cf. i 38, 4 'turbidos et nihil ausos.' So also xiv 65, 2 'magna moles et inprospera.'

§ 8. *Augustianorum*: called by Dio *Αὐγούστειοι*, and described as a *σύστημα ἐς πεντακισχιλίου στρατιώτας*.

*pars ingenio*, &c., 'some profligate by nature, others acting so in the hope of obtaining influence.'

§ 9. *personare*, 'kept up a din.'

*deum vocabulis*, 'calling him by names of gods.' Dio gives some of their cries; *ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπ' Ἀλλων, ὁ Αὔγουστος, εἰς ὡς Πίθιος*. Sacrifices offered for his 'divine voice' are mentioned, xvi 22, 1.

*agere* = 'se gerere.'

CH. 16, § 1. *adfectavit*, 'aspired to the pursuit of poetry.' The Latin verb may imply pretence, but more usually denotes genuine aspiration.

*necdum insignis erat. hi cenati*: this is a correction from the corrupt Med. text '*necdum insignis aetatis nati*' with full stop before '*necdum*.'

§ 2. *et adlatos*, &c., 'strung together lines which they had brought in or composed on the spot, and polished up his own casually dropped utterances, as is indicated by the actual appearance of the poems, which do not run with any dash and inspiration or as the work of one mind.'

*fluens*: agreeing with 'species' by hypallage, like '*purpurarum sidere clarior . . . usus*,' Hor. *Od.* iii 1, 42. Suetonius passes a different judgment on Nero's verse: he says that the poems published in Nero's name were evidently the emperor's own work, as he had himself seen the tablets on which they were composed, showing words erased and rearranged in Nero's own handwriting (*Ner.* 52).

§ 3. *utque*: the final clause should be regarded as another circumstance coupled with 'post epulas,' 'and that he might find amusement in the disputes of men maintaining opposite assertions.' (The text is here corrected from Med. '*adseverant tum discordiae rueretur*.'

*tristi*, 'serious.' The men referred to here would be professional Stoics or Cynics.

CH. 17, § 1. *Nucerinos*: on Nuceria see xiii 31, 2.

*rettuli*: in some part of the lost portions of Tacitus' work. *Livineius Regulus* is unknown except for mention here.

§ 2. *oppidana*, 'usual in country towns,' where disturbances at games appear to have been frequent. Cf. Cic. *pro Planc.* xii 30 (of an act of violence at Atina) '*vetere quodam in scaenicos iure maximeque oppidano*.'

*sumpsere*: applied by zeugma to '*probra*,' cf. xiii 35, 7.

*apud quos*: i.e. in the amphitheatre at Pompeii.

§ 4. *relata*: sc. '*a consulibus*,' who inquired into the facts and referred the question of penalties to the senate. For the jurisdiction of senate and consuls over Italian towns cf. xiii 4, 3.

*collegia*, 'associations,' 'clubs.'

CH. 18, § 1. *Pedius Blaesus* was restored by Otho, *Hist.* i 77, 6. Cyrene was united with Crete as a senatorial province of the second rank.

**thesaurum**, 'treasures (in the temple) of Aesculapius.'  
**pretio**, &c., 'and that he had been guilty of bribery and favouritism in his conduct of the military levy.'

§ 2. **praetoria potestate**, &c., 'a man of praetorian rank sent by Claudius to decide the question of the lands, once the hereditary possessions of King Apion, and left with his kingdom to Rome; these the neighbouring landowners had appropriated, and then rested on the indulgence so long shown to their encroachment as though on right and justice.'

**Ptolemaeus Apion**, last king of Cyrene, died in 96 B.C., making the Roman people his heirs. The legacy was not accepted at the time, and the province was not constituted till 74 B.C.

**licentia et iniuria**: hendiadys; cf. xiii 13, 2.

§ 3. **abjudicatis**, 'taken away by his judgment' from the occupants.

§ 4. **usurpata**, 'what they had occupied.'

CH. 19, § 1. **Domitius Afer** was a 'delator' under Tiberius, and a flatterer of Gaius.

**M. Servilius Nonianus** was consul in 35 A.D.; his history is lost.  
**elegantia**, &c., 'the refinement of his life, which he rendered the more illustrious as he excelled in character the other whom he equalled in ability.'

**morum**: cf. 'sententiae diversos,' xiii 26, 2.

CH. 20, § 1. **quinquennale ludicrum**: called 'lustrale certamen' in xvi 4, 1. Nero's design was to celebrate the fulfilment of each complete period of five years of his rule, as his predecessors had celebrated their 'decennia imperii.'

**varia fama**: abl. of accompanying circumstance, '(provoking) different criticisms, as novelties usually do.' The innovation on former precedents consisted chiefly of the addition of 'musical' contests, i.e. in poetry, rhetoric, and music.

§ 2. **Pompeium**: for his theatre cf. xiii 54, 4.

**a senioribus**, 'by the older men (of his day).'

§ 3. **nam antea**, &c.: it is recorded that a permanent theatre was in course of construction in 155 B.C., but was destroyed by order of the senate and chief pontiff P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica; and the prohibition of sitting at the games was at the same time renewed and enforced.

**theatro**: local abl. **ignavia**: modal abl. **continuaret**, 'should spend whole days.'

§ 4. **spectaculorum quidem**, &c.: the speakers deprecate having fresh games other than those held annually by the praetors, and complain of the compulsion of citizens to compete, and of the introduction of Greek gymnastics as being likely to supersede the necessary military exercises.

§ 5. **ceterum**, &c., 'however, the morality of our fathers, gradually undermined, was now being absolutely subverted by vice, which had been imported so that every possible object and instrument of wickedness might be seen in the city.'

**exercendo**: taken by zeugma with 'gymnasia' in the sense of 'frequentando.' Cf. xiii 35, 7. For abl. see Intr. II 22 (b).

§ 6. **quid superesse**, &c.: the games included gymnastic contests of all sorts, but hitherto noble Romans took part in the 'musical' competitions only.

§ 7. **iustitiam auctum iri**: for Med. 'ius titia augurii.'

**decurias equitum**: i.e. the 'decuriae iudicum,' the latter consisting practically entirely of 'equites.'

**fractos**: effeminate, falsetto. **perite**, 'like experts.'

CH. 21, § 1. **pluribus**, 'the majority.'

**praetendebant**, 'disguised it under specious phrases.'

§ 2. **quoque non** = 'ne . . . quidem.' **oblectamentis**: ablat.

**pro fortuna**, &c., 'in proportion to the wealth of the times.'

**a Tuscis**: in 364 B. C. Cf. Livy vii 2.

**Thurii** was founded near the site of Sybaris by colonists from all parts of Greece, but especially from Athens, in 443 B. C. Tacitus follows an otherwise unknown tradition, opposite to that of Livy (i 35), who states that horse-racing was introduced into Rome from Etruria in the days of Tarquinius Priscus.

**possessa**, 'taken under dominion.' Achaia became a Roman province after the fall of Corinth, 146 B. C., as did Asia after the capture of Aristonicus, 129 B. C.

**curatius**, 'more elaborately' (= 'accuratius': see also xvi 22, 6).

**nec quemquam**, &c., 'and no one at Rome of noble birth had stooped to become a professional player.' Previous appearances of senators and knights (as in ch. 14) are counted as amateur performances.

**Mummii**: the conqueror of Corinth.

**id genus**: Greek performances, more especially those of the stage, for Greek athletes had been exhibited at Rome in the games given by M. Fulvius Nobilior, 186 B. C.

§ 3. **quam** = 'quam ut.' Cf. xiii 42, 8.

§ 4. **perinde**, 'as much' (as formerly). The argument is, now that the people had the Neronia, the expense of which was borne by the treasury, they would not expect elaborate spectacles, including Greek contests, to be given by the magistrates at personal expense.

§ 5. **vatum**, 'poets.' **grave**, 'degrading,' 'demoralising.'

§ 6. **laetitiae**, 'merriment.' **lasciviae**, 'profligacy.'

§ 7. **ac**, &c., 'there was hardly even a moderate amount of excitement roused in the populace.'

**quamquam**: following 'redditi,' by anastrophe.

**redditi**: the expulsion of the 'histriones' is mentioned in xiii 25, 4.

**certaminibus sacris**: the Neronia. The phrase is an imitation of *ἱεροὶ ἀγῶνες*, the term applied to the Greek festivals.

§ 8. **primas**: sc. 'partes,' 'the first prize for oratory.' The prize was awarded to Nero though he had not delivered a speech in the competition.

**exoleverunt**, 'dropped out of fashion.' The meaning apparently is that during the festival not only the competitors, but the majority of the spectators, appeared in Greek dress, which thus became vulgarized and regarded as unfashionable.

CH. 22, § 1. **sidus cometes**: spoken of by Seneca as having been visible for six months, and as having belied the superstition that regarded a comet as a sign of evil ('cometis detraxit infamiam,' *Qu. Nat.* vii 17, 2). (For the syntax see Intr. II 1.)

**opinio, tamquam . . . portendat**: for the use of 'tamquam' by Tacitus cf. xiii 28, 5 and Intr. II 50.

**regis**: used as a general term under which the Roman 'princeps' is comprehended. (The title being unusual as applied by the Roman populace to their ruler, Bentley has suggested 'regnis,' from Lucan i 529 'mutantem regna cometen'.)

§ 2. **Rubellius Plautus**: see xiii 19, 3.

§ 3. **placita**=δόγματα. 'He held to the ideas of our ancestors, his manners being austere, his house pure and secluded, while the more he sought obscurity through fear, the more did he add to his reputation.' He was also a Stoic, cf. ch. 59, 2.

§ 4. **vanitas**, 'superstition.' **discumbentis**, 'reclining at table.'

**Simbruina stagna**: three lakes formed by the upper waters of the Anio, below which was **Sublaqueum**, the site of Nero's villa. 'Anio in monte Trebanorum ortus tres lacus amoenitate nobiles qui nomen dedere Sublaqueo defert in Tiberim' (Pliny, *N. H.* iii 12, 17, 109).

**hunc illum**, 'believed that he must be the man destined.'

**fovebant**, 'and he began to receive the attentions of many of those who show an eager and usually mistaken obsequiousness in paying premature court to new and doubtful fortunes.'

§ 5. **diffamantibus**, 'spreading evil reports.'

**inturbida**, 'without causing disturbance'; cf. 'turbidus,' ch. 59, 5.

**Antistia**: in full, 'Antistia Pollitta,' daughter of Antistius Vetus (xiii 11, 1), with whom she suffered death (xvi 10-11) three years after the death of her husband (ch. 59, 3).

§ 6. **luxus**, 'self-indulgence.'

**fontem**: the main stream supplying the aqueduct that carried the 'aqua Marcia.' This was constructed by the praetor L. Marcius Rex, in 149 B.C., and was restored by Agrippa and augmented by Augustus. It started in the Sabine hills near the thirty-sixth milestone on the 'via Valeria.'

**nando**: dat. of purpose.

**caerimoniam loci**: the sources of rivers, and springs rising suddenly from the ground were regarded as sacred (Seneca, *Ep.* 41, 3). As the 'aqua Marcia' supplied Rome with drinking water, it was well to insist on the sanctity of its source.

**anceps valetudo**, 'severe indisposition.'

CH. 23, § 1. **at Corbulo**, &c.: this narrative is resumed

from xiii 41, and appears to deal with the two years 59 and 60 A.D. See Intr. V 3 and 4.

**recenti terrore**: the terror caused by the destruction of Artaxata would be recent even if we suppose he had wintered there after its surrender.

**intenderet**, 'intensify.'

**inffenso**, 'in hostile fashion.'

**remissa cura**, 'relaxing precautions.'

**gnarus**, &c., 'well aware that this people, so ready to change, could be treacherous when opportunity offered, just as it shrank back in the face of danger.'

§ 3. **diversis artibus**: a curious application of the ablat. of description, 'misericordia' and 'celeritate' standing in apposition to 'artibus.' Cf. Intr. II 22 (a). 'Employing opposite methods, leniency towards the suppliant but summary measures against the fugitives.'

§ 4. **praegredientem** = 'praetergredientem.'

**Mardi**: a race living on Mount Niphates, ancestors of the modern Kurds. The name is preserved in 'Mardistan.'

**Hiberis**: the Hiberi were voluntary allies of Corbulo from hatred of the Armenians. Cf. xiii 37, 3.

**vastavit**: Tacitus uses 'vastare aliquem' = 'vastare alicuius terram.' Cf. ch. 38, 2, and xv 1, 2.

**externo sanguine**: without sacrifice of Roman lives.

CH. 24, § 1. **fatiscebant**, 'were becoming exhausted.'

**carne pecudum**: to a Roman soldier corn meal was the great necessity of life, and the substitution of animal food for it was prejudicial. So Caesar (*B. G.* vii 17, 3) speaks of meat as famine diet, 'ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint, et pecore . . . extremam famem sustentarent.' For 'adigere' with infin. cf. Intr. II 31.

§ 2. **ad hoc**: πρὸς τοῖς, 'besides.'

§ 4. **Tauraunitium**: genit. plur. rather than acc. sing. The name indicates that the district was in the country belonging to the Taurus range: it was probably the district of Mush, west of Lake Van.

§ 5. **ordinem**, 'the details'; cf. xiii 20, 1.

§ 6. **Tigranocerta**: see Intr. II 62.

§ 7. **accepitque**, &c., 'he received it with appreciation, and no damage was done to the city, that the inhabitants being uninjured might maintain a more willing obedience.'

CH. 25, § 1. **Legerda**: corrected from Med. 'legerat,' owing to the mention by Ptolemy (v 13, 20) of Λέγρδα as a place between the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, and thus west or north-west of Tigranocerta.

**pro muris**, 'outside the walls.'

**aggeri**: a mound constructed against the walls to make it possible for the besiegers to climb over, such as that described in Thuc. (ii 75) at the siege of Plataea.

§ 2. **Hyrcano bello**: cf. xiii 37, 6.

§ 3. *maris rubri*: the Persian Gulf (*Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα*, Hdt. i 180), so in ii 61. The envoys returned from Syria along the west bank of the Euphrates to the sea, and so back to Hyrcania by a route beyond the eastern limit of the Parthian power.

CH. 26, § 1. *per Medos*: cf. xiii 41, 2. *Verulanus* is mentioned again xv 3, 1.

*citis*, 'proceeding by forced marches.' *amittere*, 'to give up.'

*subegit*: with infinitive. Cf. Intr. II 31.

*possessionem usurpabat*, 'was seizing possession of.'

*Tigranes*: presumably grandson of Alexander the son of Herod the Great. *Archelaus* was established king of Cappadocia by Antony, 36 B. C. He was descended from the general of Mithridates who bore the same name, and who apparently gave his daughter in marriage to Alexander the grandfather of the *Tigranes* here mentioned.

*nepos*, 'descendant,' he was great-grandson of Archelaus.

*usque*, &c., 'humbled to the submissiveness of a slave.'

§ 2. *durante*, &c.: Tiridates was preferred, as being a nearer representative of the house of the Arsacids, with which *Tigranes* was nevertheless himself connected.

§ 3. *quo facilius*, &c.: the kings next mentioned would have an interest in protecting the Armenian frontiers, by having districts of Armenia attached to their kingdoms.

*pars Armeniae*, &c.: the text is reconstructed from Med. '*pars Armenia eunt cuique finitima pars nipulique*.' *Pharasmanes* was king of Iberia, cf. xiii 37, 3; *Polemo* was king of Pontus with part of Cilicia. For *Aristobulus* and *Antiochus* see xiii 7.

§ 4. *morte*, &c.: *Antei* had been appointed successor to *Ummidius* five years before, but had been detained in Rome; cf. xiii 22, 2. *sibi permissam* = 'left to itself.'

CH. 27, § 1. *Laodicea*: an important commercial city on the borders of Phrygia and Caria, on the Lycus, a tributary of the Maeander.

§ 2. *Puteoli*: a colony of 300 Roman citizens had been settled there in 194 B. C., and the place appears from an inscription to have been again colonized by Augustus. Tacitus' words here probably mean that the '*vetus oppidum*,' the old community, existing, with municipal status only, side by side with the colony, was now raised to colonial rank. The distinction between '*colonia*' and '*municipium*' had however by now ceased to have any real importance.

*cognomentum*: the town added to its name '*colonia Claudia Augusta Neronensis*,' which was afterwards altered to '*colonia Flavia Augusta*.'

§ 3. *adscripti*: the word is used of the enrolment of additional settlers to an already existing colony. *Tarentum* had become a colony in 122 B. C.; *Antium* was originally a Latin colony and was resettled in 338 B. C. Nero regarded this town with special favour as being his birthplace; cf. xv 23.



*infrequentiae*, 'lack of population.'

*stipendia expleverant*: Augustus had ordained sixteen, and then twenty years, as the limit of military service; the soldiers were however usually kept on past that time as reserves ('*sub vexillo retenti*'), exempt from ordinary camp duties, but liable to be called up for active service in emergencies.

§ 4. *ut olim*: this old custom prevailed from the time of Sulla to that of Augustus, who had himself been greatly helped by the Campanian military colonies of the former.

*sui cuiusque ordinis*, 'of their own distinct century,' i. e. grouped in their proper centuries. (This is a genit. of quality, answering to the abl. of quality, '*diversis manipulis*,' below). For a similar construction of '*suus quisque*,' taken as a single word (= 'distinct,' 'several'), cf. *Caes. B. C.* i 83 '*cohortes . . . suae cuiusque legionis*,'

*ut*, &c., 'to form a community in virtue of their *esprit de corps*.'

*quasi*, &c., 'as though drawn suddenly together from any other class of people, (proving) a mere mob rather than a colony.'

*collecti*: participle, '*deducebantur*' being supplied.

*numerus*, 'a mere aggregate.' Cf. *Hor. Ep.* i 2, 27 '*nos numerus sumus*.'

CH. 28, § 1. *arbitrio senatus*: elections to magistracies were transferred from the comitia to the senate in the first year of Tiberius' reign, 14 A. D. (*Intr.* III 7).

*supra numerum*: there were twelve praetorships, for which the princes usually 'commended' four candidates, thus leaving eight places to be filled up by the free election of the senate. On this occasion there were fifteen competitors for the twelve vacancies.

*praeficiendo*: appointing each to the post of '*legatus legionis*.' They would be able to take a praetorship afterwards, if they desired.

§ 2. *a privatis iudicibus*, 'from civil tribunals.'

*eiusdem pecuniae*: the caution-money to be lodged on appeal was fixed at one-third of the sum at which the action was laid, and this was forfeited if the original judgment was confirmed. The absence of any such regulation in appeals to the senate would render them liable to frivolous appeals.

*vacuum*, 'open.'

§ 3. *Vibius Secundus* had been procurator of one of the two provinces into which, in the reign of Claudius, Mauretania had been divided.

*Vibius Crispus* is known as a '*curator aquarum*' 68-71 A. D., and mentioned by the elder Pliny as proconsul of Africa. Tacitus, in the *Histories*, mentions his fame as an orator and his evil repute as an accuser. He was intimate with Domitian, under whom he reached the age of eighty (*Juv.* iv 81-93).

CH. 29, § 1. *Caesennio*: corrected from *Med.* '*Cesonio*,' on the supposition that he was the same as the person mentioned in xv 6, 4, &c.

*Turpilianus*: mentioned in ch. 39 and in xv 72, 2; he was put to death by Galba (*Hist.* i 6, 2).

**A. Didius**: governor 52-57 A.D. An account of his doings is given in xii 40, 7.

**Veranius** died in the course of his first year of command in Britain, 58 A.D.

**Siluras**: the Silures extended over South Wales, Monmouthshire, and Herefordshire. Their chief town was Burium (Usk). Tacitus believed them to be of Iberian extraction (*Agr.* 2, 11).

**testamenti**: descriptive genit., 'in his last words as expressed in his will.'

**ambitionis manifestus**, 'betraying vanity'; cf. xiii 23, 2 'vanitatis manifestus,' = 'clearly guilty of falsehood.'

**subiecturum**, &c., 'that he would have completed the subjection of the province,' by overcoming the resistance in the west and north.

§ 2. **Paulinus Suetonius**: as legatus in Mauretania he had put down a rebellion (41-42 A.D.); he had probably been a consul before his appointment in Britain, as he is called 'vetustissimus consularium' in *Hist.* ii 37, 2, referring to the year 69 A.D. In the civil war he was conspicuous as a supporter of Otho.

**perduellibus**: an archaic word.

§ 3. **Monam**: Anglesea, *Mōwa* in Dio. (The Mona of Caes. *B. G.* v 13 is probably the Isle of Man.)

**plano alveo**, 'flat-bottomed.'

**breve et incertum**: sc. 'maris,' 'the shallow and shifting (because tidal) depth' (see Intr. II 51).

§ 4. **adnantes**, 'swimming beside.'

CH. 30, § 1. **pro litore**, 'along the shore.'

**diversa**, 'of the enemy,' cf. xiii 57, 3.

**in modum**, &c.: cf. Strabo's description of the inhabitants of the 'Cassiterides,' *μετάγχεινοι* . . . *ὅμοιοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς Ποίναϊς*.

**Druidae**: described in Caes. *B. G.* vi 13-14. According to the elder Pliny, Tiberius took measures to suppress them in Gaul (because of their human sacrifices), as did Claudius after him, according to Suetonius.

**preces fundentes**: a Vergilian expression, cf. *Aen.* v 233 'Ni... Cloanthus | fudissetque preces. . .'

§ 2. **igni suo involvunt**, 'envelope in the flames of their own torches,' by driving the torch-bearing women in upon the mass.

§ 3. **praesidium**: a fort and garrison.

**saevae superstitionibus**, 'savage rites.'

**cruore captivo** = 'captivorum.' Cf. 'externo sanguine,' ch. 23, 4.

**adolere aras**: an archaic and poetical expression, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vii 71 'castis adolet dum altaria taedis . . . Lavinia.' The meaning of the verb is uncertain, the various senses of 'piling,' 'honouring,' 'making to burn,' being all possible, though perhaps from different bases.

**fibris** = 'extis.'

**fas habebant**, 'it was their religious custom.'

CH. 31, § 1. The **Iceni** extended over Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. Their town *Οὔεντα*, 'Venta Icenorum,' is Norwich or

Caistor, and their name may be traced in Ickworth and Icknield. Another form of the name, seen on coins, is 'Eceni' (probably 'swordsmen').

*longa* = 'diuturna,' so ch. 53, 5 'longa decora.'

§ 2. *vertit*: intrans., so xiii 32, 5.

*centuriones* . . . *servos*: the respective agents of the legatus and the procurator, the former enforcing the conscription (cf. *Agr.* 31, 1) and punishing general disobedience, the other exacting the fiscal imposts and inheritance.

§ 3. *iam primum*, 'to begin with.'

*Boudicca*: probably the correct form of the name, which appears in Dio as *Βουνδοίκη* and *Βουνδούκα*, and in *Agr.* as 'Voadicca' and 'Voaduca'; it is equivalent in meaning to such a Latin name as 'Victorina.' The form 'Boadicea' is a popular perversion, like 'Caractacus' for 'Caratacus,' = Celtic 'Caradog,' 'Carthach,' ('McCarthy').

*muni*: predicative dat. 'for a gift.'

*accepissent*: 'Romani' must be understood; the change of subject is very harsh.

§ 4. *in formam provinciae*: becoming annexed to the province on Prasutagus' death.

*rebellatio*: a rare variation for 'rebellio.'

*Trinovantes*: this people lived in Suffolk and Essex, having Camulodunum (Colchester) for their capital. They were the most powerful of the southern tribes in Caesar's time, and represented the centre of resistance in the invasion under Claudius. The name means 'battle-stabbers.'

*pepigerant*: with infin. Cf. Intr. II 31.

§ 5. *recens deducti*: in 50 A.D. ('recens,' adv.).

*appellando*: an ablative of attendant circumstance, used as a variant for 'appellantes' or 'cum appellarent.' See Intr. II 22 b.

*inpotentiam*, 'lawlessness.'

§ 6. *templum divo Claudio*: erected in his lifetime, as were the provincial temples to Augustus.

*sacerdotes*: taken from provincial subjects of good family.

*omnis fortunas*: as though 'omnium fortunas.' For 'effundere,' 'to spend money not one's own,' cf. Cic. *Tusc.* iii 20, 48 'C. Gracchus cum effudisset aerarium.' The heavy contributions levied by the priests for the service of this temple became a national grievance.

§ 7. *amoenitati*, 'beauty of situation.'

CH. 32, § 1. *palam*: its position gives adjectival force, 'for no apparent reason' (Intr. II 49).

§ 2. *canebant*, 'prophesied.'

*externos*, 'barbarian.' *θροῦς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος* . . . *μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων φεγγομένου*, Dio.

*curia*: the hall where the 'decuriones' of the colony met.

*eorum* = 'Camulodunensium,' supplied from the name of the town.

**Tamesae**, &c. : for the river ('Tamesis' in Caesar), Dio employs the same form as Tacitus, οἰκίαι τέ τινες ἐν τῷ Ταμέσῳ ποταμῷ ὑφ' ὧν ἐωρῶντο; his account of the appearance (whatever it was) indicates something different from the explanation one might put on Tacitus' words, viz. an appearance of Camulodunum at the mouth of the Thames due to reflexion under peculiar atmospheric conditions.

**iam** : cf. xiii 43, 3.

**dilabente**, 'ebbing.'

**corporum effigies**, 'the appearance of human bodies,' sand-heaps taking what was fancied to be the form of corpses.

§ 3. **iustis**, 'proper,' 'regular.'

§ 4. **tutela templi** : this implies that the temple precinct was an enclosure of some strength.

**neque motis**, &c. : the negation applies both to 'motis' and 'restitit'; 'nor were the aged and the women removed, the men of fighting age alone remaining to defend it.' 'Motis' = 'remotis,' cf. ch. 60, 5.

§ 6. **Petilius Cerialis** was a distinguished general, prominent under Vespasian; later on legatus of Britain (*Agr.* 8, 2), and also held appointment in Germany.

**nonae** : this legion, it is thought, was stationed at this time at Lindum (Lincoln).

**quod peditum** : sc. 'ei erat.' Cf. xv 26, 2 'quodque alarum cohortiumque.'

**in castra** : probably back to the station from which they had marched (not to Camulodunum, where the temple had been stormed).

§ 7. **avaritia eius** : Dio states that he demanded a restoration of the money which Claudius had given to the chief men. Tacitus ignores the story of the exactions of Seneca, see xiii 42, 7.

CH. 33, § 1. **Londinium** : here mentioned for the first time in classical literature.

**cognomento**, &c., 'not (yet) distinguished by the title of colony, but crowded with numbers of merchants and abundance of merchandize.'

§ 2. **circumspecta**, &c., 'having considered the small numbers of his troops, and the fact that Petilius' rashness had been checked by warnings sufficiently severe'; the infinitive depends on 'circumspecto' supplied from 'circumspecta.' Cf. Intr. II 21 b.

§ 3. **quin**, &c., 'could not be dissuaded from giving the order to start, taking those who would follow as part of his column.' He would not stay to defend the place, but would escort fugitives to a place of safety.

§ 4. **Verulamio** : the remains of Verulamium closely adjoin St. Albans. It was probably the same as the 'oppidum Cassivelauni' in *Caes. B. G.* v 21.

**intutum** : here like a passive partic. 'unguarded' rather than as adj. 'insecure.'

**laborum segnes**: gen. of reference, like 'irae properus' (xi 26, 5), so also xvi 14, 1. See also Intr. 11 24 c.

§ 5. **civium et sociorum**: i. e. Romans, Romanized Britons, and Gaulish and other traders.

§ 6. **capere**, &c.: the infinitives may be regarded as depending on some such idea as 'curabant' supplied (by zeugma) from 'festinabant'; 'commercium' stands alone, for variation, instead of with an infin. such as 'exercere' or 'facere.' **Quod** is the indef. pronoun (adj. form); see Intr. II 3 b.

**belli commercium**: referring to the ransoming of captives (cf. Verg. *Aen.* x 552).

**patibula**, 'gibbets.' 'Patibulum' also means a heavy wooden beam in which the hands and head were fixed as in a pillory; cf. 'patibulatus ferar per urbem, deinde adfigar cruci,' Plaut. frag.

**tamquam**, &c., 'feeling that they were destined to suffer retribution, and snatching meanwhile at the vengeance within reach.'

CH. 34, § 1. **cum vexillariis vicensimanis**, 'with a detachment of the 20th legion' (not necessarily the 'veterani sub vexillo').

§ 2. **locum**: there is no means of identifying this place for certain, though it is generally taken to have been somewhere between London and Colchester: Haynes Green, between Maldon and Colchester, has been suggested as resembling the description here.

**apertam**, 'that the plain (in front) was open,' i. e. contained no cover.

§ 3. **frequens ordinibus**, 'in closely massed ranks.'

**circum**, 'on each side.' **pro cornibus**, 'at the extremity of each wing' (xiii 38, 6).

§ 4. **quanta non alias**, 'greater than ever before.'

**feroci**, 'confident.'

**plaustris inponerent**: the women of the Cimbri are described as having followed the men into battle in a similar way.

CH. 35, § 1. **solitum Britannis**: cf. *Agr.* 16 'neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt.'

**sed tunc**, &c., 'but now she was not as a queen of noble lineage seeking vengeance for loss of kingdom and wealth, but like one of the humblest burning to vindicate the loss of liberty, the infliction of the scourge upon her body, the outrage on her daughter's honour.'

§ 2. **ut non corpora**, &c., 'that they spared the person of none, leaving not even age and innocence unassailed.'

§ 3. **adesse**, &c., 'at hand to exact a righteous vengeance.' So v 72, 5 'qui tributo aderant' (i. e. 'tributo exigendo').

**ceteros**: the 2nd legion, ch. 37, 6, and perhaps also the rest of the 20th (ch. 34, 1), and the survivors of the 9th (ch. 32, 6).

**circumspicere**, 'were watching for a chance of.'

§ 4. **impetus et manus**, 'the shock of their encounter.'

**secum expenderent**, 'reflect upon.' Similar outrages would

## TACITUS ANNALS: NOTES

recur, and they might not always have the same means of resistance.

vel: for 'aut' so in ch. 61, 6, and 62, 5.

CH. 36, § 2. *ubi . . . adgnovissent*, 'as soon as they, so often routed, recognized the steel and the valour of their conquerors.'

§ 3. *in multis*, &c., 'where many legions were present, it was only a few soldiers who gave the decisive impulse to battles.'

§ 4. *et pilis*, &c., 'et' couples 'conferti' with all the following words down to 'gladiis.'

*continuarent*, 'keep up incessantly.' Cf. xiii 53, 1.

*cessura*: so, 'praeda victoribus cessit,' xiii 39, 7.

§ 5. *intorquenda*, 'hurling.'

*multa experientia*: abl. of quality.

*certus eventus*: so 'matrimonii certa,' *Ann.* xii 3, 2.

CH. 37, § 1. *gradu*, 'position.'

*angustias*: cf. 'locum artis faucibus,' ch. 34, 2.

*in propius suggestos hostis*: for *Med.* 'propius suggestus hostis,' which would require 'exhauserat' to be unnaturally strained to the meaning 'received upon themselves all the missiles.'

*certo iactu*, 'with deadly effect.'

§ 3. *terga praebuere*: a variation for the usual 'terga dederunt' (possibly to avoid the hexameter ending). For 'abitus,' 'outlet,' cf. *Verg. Aen.* ix 379 'omnemque abitum custode coronant.'

§ 4. *auxerant*: expressing what had come to pass at a time soon after that spoken of. Cf. the use of 'auxerant,' *Ann.* i 63, 3 and 'aboleverat,' *Hist.* ii 5, 3. In such uses the pluperfect denotes an action prior not to that of the preceding verb of its own clause (as 'saepserant' above denotes something prior to 'praebuere'), but to the subsequent action described.

§ 5. *octoginta milia*: such numbers are usually guesswork, but the slaughter of the Teutons and Cimbri by Marius and that inflicted on the Gauls by Caesar are instances of the tremendous carnage a disciplined force could inflict on an undisciplined mass of barbarians.

*veneno*: Dio (lxii 12, 6) says she died of disease.

§ 6. *praefectus castrorum*: in command of the legion in the absence of the legatus.

*secundae legionis*: in its head quarters at Isca Silurum (Caerleon).

CH. 38, § 1. *nonani*: belonging to the legion cut to pieces under Cerialis (ch. 32, 6).

§ 2. *vastatum*: used similarly in ch. 23, 4.

§ 3. *incuriosos*: so with dat. in *Hist.* ii 17, 1 'melioribus incuriosos'; more frequently with genit. as *Ann.* v 31, 1 'incuriosum fratris.'

*et*: i.e. besides their general tendency to neglect agriculture, on this occasion not even the old had remained at home to cultivate the land.

§ 4. *successor Cato*: cf. ch. 32, 7. The procurator was apt to be

at variance with the *legatus* (cf. *Agr.* 9, 5) and was often intended to be a check upon him.

*disperseratque*, 'put it abroad that . . .,' 'circulated the talk that . . .'

CH. 39, § 1. *igitur*: i.e. in consequence of the procurator's report.

*Polyclitus*: his rapacity is noted in the *Histories*, and appears to have been exercised chiefly when he was left in Rome with *Helius* (cf. xiii 1, 3) during Nero's absence in Greece (Dio).

*barbarum*: so *Med.* for 'barbarorum' (on analogy of 'fabrum' and 'liberum,' shortened to avoid the repetition of 'r' in the longer form).

§ 2. *nec defuit*, &c., 'and Polyclitus, whose enormous train had been oppressive to Italy and Gaul, did not fail, on crossing the ocean, to inspire terror, by his coming, among our soldiers too.'

§ 3. *apud quos*, 'among whom the spirit of freedom was still strong and who had not yet realized the power of the freedmen.'

§ 4. *cuncta tamen*, 'yet' (in spite of the unfavourable impression he produced on the army and the province) 'in his report to the emperor he put a more favourable construction' (than had *Classicianus*) 'upon things in general.' For 'in *mollius relata*,' cf. xiii 14, 1.

*detentus rebus gerundis*, 'having been retained in his appointment'; 'rebus,' dat. of purpose. 'Detentus' does not here imply reluctant detention; cf. *Agr.* 9, 6 'minus triennium in ea legatione detentus.'

*quod postea*, &c.: to be taken apart from the preceding words and in connexion with 'iubetur.' He was not superseded then and there, but soon afterwards a trifling disaster was made the occasion for this to be done, as though a state of war still existed and he was not competent to restore peace.

*Petronio Turpiliano*: see ch. 29, 1. He is also mentioned in xv 72 as receiving triumphal honours, 65 A.D., but had returned to Rome earlier, as he was 'curator aquarum' in 63 A.D.

§ 5. *segni otio*, 'unenterprising inactivity.'

CH. 40, § 1. *senatoris*: referring to the principal culprit *Fabianus*, described below as 'capessendis honoribus destinatus,' i.e. a man in the same position as *Julius Montanus* (xiii 25, 2). 'Senatoris,' to be taken with 'audacia,' to which 'servili' (by variation for 'servi') is also joined.

*alterum*: described in ch. 42.

*erat*: cf. xiii 45, 1.

§ 2. *subdidit*, 'forged.'

*Antonium Primum*: afterwards a partisan of *Vespasian* (*Hist.* ii 86, 2-3).

*Asinium Marcellum*: consul 54 A.D., grandson of *Asinius Gallus* the son of *C. Asinius Pollio*. The last-named was a supporter of *Julius Caesar*, and acted as Antony's lieutenant in Cisalpine Gaul in 41 B.C. In 40 B.C. he was consul, and with *Maecenas* negotiated

the treaty of Brundisium between Antony and Octavian, by which after two generations of civil war the peace of Italy seemed to be secured. He was a patron of Horace and Vergil, and founded a library on the Palatine. See *Hor. Od.* ii 1 and *Verg. Ecl.* iv and iii 86.

§ 3. *audacia promptus*: so ch. 58, 2 'aut numero validos aut animo promptos.'

*morum spernendus*: cf. 'morum diversus,' ch. 19.

§ 4. *tabulas sociis*: for Med. 'tabulas iis.'

*aliis*: presumably three, the attestation of seven Roman citizens being requisite to a citizen's will.

§ 5. *convictum*, 'was proved.'

*lege Cornelia*: a law of Sulla, passed in 81 B.C. against forgery or falsification of wills or suppression of a true will. The penalty was deportation to an island with complete loss of property for the principal offender, and exile, relegation, or expulsion from the senate for his accessories. Antonius suffered only expulsion from the senate, to which he was subsequently restored by Galba, who also made him commander of a legion (*Hist.* ii 86, 2).

*exemere*, 'rescued from punishment but not disgrace.'

CH. 41, § 1. *is dies*: there is a similar personification of 'nox' in xiii 17, 1.

*iuvenem quaestorium*: he was thus a senator, but of the lowest rank.

*tamquam*: not necessarily a fictitious charge. See *Intr.* II 50.

*Hispania*: his name suggests that he was of a Spanish family enfranchised when Pompeius Magnus held Spain.

§ 2. *pari ignominia*: probably meaning exclusion from Italy alone.

*reos*: meaning perhaps the 'minus illustres' of the preceding chapter, but it is strange that these confederates should not have been tried in the senate with the other offenders (ch. 40, 5), and Tacitus' language would equally well apply to persons under trial on another charge.

*apud praefectum urbis*: the jurisdiction of this magistrate was originally restricted to ordinary police cases and criminals of the lowest rank, but it was extended as time went on, and at this period its sphere was so far from being strictly defined that an attempt to forestall other accusers from bringing a case before the praefect, by taking preliminary steps to bring it before the praetor, could be defended by an appeal to the letter of the law ('specie legum').

*interim*, 'for a while.' The jurisdiction of the praetor being less summary than that of the praefect, Ponticus would be able to gain time for collusion with the other side ('praevaricatio'). It is noteworthy that here the senate punished the presumed intention to commit a crime, before its actual accomplishment.

§ 3. *senatus consulto*: meaning, perhaps, the 'senatus consultum Turpilianum,' named after the consul of the year (ch. 29, 1).



This was a measure providing comprehensively against forgery and fraud in the matter of wills.

**talem operam**: i.e. the attempt to frustrate a charge by such means as Ponticus had employed.

**publico iudicio**, &c., 'as if convicted of calumny in a criminal cause.' In legal phraseology, 'calumniari' = to bring a false charge, 'praevaricari' = to suppress a true one, and 'tergiversari' = to abandon a charge without just cause. The old penalty for 'calumnia' was branding with the letter K, apparently imposed by the 'lex Remmia,' which is of uncertain date, and referred to in Cicero, *pro Roscio*. In later times the penalties were, in civil cases, a fine of one-tenth to one-fourth or even one-third of the amount involved, and in criminal cases exile, relegation, or loss of rank.

CH. 42, § 1. **Pedanium Secundum**: consul suffectus in 43 A.D. The 'praefectus urbis' was always a senator of consular rank.

**pretium pepigerat**: slaves were allowed to accumulate a sum from their 'peculium' to purchase their freedom, but until later had no remedy at law if their master broke the compact.

§ 2. **vetere ex more**: a letter to Cicero (*ad Fam.* iv 12, 3) shows such a decree existed in republican times. Cf. xiii 32, 1.

**protegebat**: the tense implies beginning or intention. So 'ducebantur,' ch. 45, 3; 'decernebat,' xv 74, 4; 'damnabatur,' xvi 21, 2.

C. Cassius: cf. xiii 41, 5.

**sententiae loco**, 'when his turn for speaking came.'

CH. 43, § 1. **super**, 'in the case of' = 'de': cf. xv 5, 5. Intr. II 46.

**studium meum**, 'my pursuit,' i.e. the profession of jurisprudence, with the study of old precedents involved in it.

**extollere**, 'make too much of . . .'

§ 2. **quidquid**, &c., 'whatever this authority that I have may be.' Cf. ch. 55, 2 'quidquid illud et quaecumque.' For 'hoc . . . auctoritatis,' cf. 'si quid est in me ingeni' (Cic. *Arch.* i 1).

**crebris contradictionibus**, 'by perpetual opposition.'

**ut**, &c., 'that it might remain unimpaired, if ever the state had vital need of my advice.'

§ 3. **senatus consulto**: the one embodying the 'vetus mos,' cf. ch. 42, 2.

§ 4. **ut quem**, &c.: 'quem' and 'cui' are interrogatives depending on the consecutive 'ut'; 'vote in heaven's name for their impunity, with the result that who is to be defended by his rank (i.e. that no one can be) when the office of city-praefect has been unavailing to its possessor? that who is to be protected by the number of his slaves?' &c. So Livy xlv 39 'dimicasset; ut quo victores nos reciperemus?' Cic. *pro Font.* x 22 'iurare malitis? quid ut secuti esse videamini?'

**in metu**: when they have the fear of such punishment hanging over them.

**advertit**, 'pays attention to.'

§ 5. 'paterna pecunia,' 'avitum mancipium': ironical references to the supposed reasons for the crime. By strict law a slave had no rights to inherit or hold property or to enter into contracts ('transigere'), so that 'iniuria' was an absurd term to apply in the case of a slave.

ultro, 'let us go further and say.'

CH. 44, § 1. libet, &c., 'do you wish to hunt up arguments in a matter already decided by wiser heads?'

animum sumpsisse, 'formed a resolution.'

ut non, &c., 'without letting fall some threatening expression.'

§ 2. sane: concessive, 'even grant that he concealed his design.'

excubias: the slaves guarding the bedroom.

§ 3. multa, &c., 'many premonitory signs precede a crime.'

servi si prodant, &c., 'if our slaves betray their fellows' plots, we can live, single amid a crowd, safe among the anxious, and finally, if we have to perish, not unavenged among the guilty.' The argument is 'If the old law remains in force it will prompt slaves to give information of any plot against their master, and we shall be safe,' but the actual words do not express this clearly, and, if the text is sound, the language has sacrificed sense to brevity. An emendation suggested, 'servi si pereundum sit ni prodant,' removes the difficulty, but is somewhat violent.

anxios: careful that no unrevealed plot against their master should involve them in wholesale destruction.

§ 4. etiam cum, &c.: in old households most or all of the slaves were born in the house ('vernae').

statim, &c., 'and conceived an affection for their masters from their earliest years.'

§ 5. postquam, &c., 'now that we have different nationalities in our households, possessing religions other than ours, some barbarian forms of worship or none at all . . .'

§ 6. at = 'at enim.'

nam et, 'yes, for even . . .'

cum decimus quisque, &c., 'decimatio' as a military punishment is mentioned in Livy as early as 469 B.C. (Livy ii 59, 4). Tacitus mentions the 'decimation' of a cohort for cowardice in Africa, in 20 A.D.; *Ann.* iii 21 'decimum quemque ignominiosae cohortis sorte ductos fusti necat.'

sortiuntur, 'draw the lot' for punishment.

§ 7. omne magnum exemplum, 'every exemplary punishment on a large scale involves a certain amount of injustice, which is compensated by the public advantage as set against (the wrong done to) individuals.' For 'exemplum' see xv 20, 2; contrast xiii 44, 8.

CH. 45, § 1. nemo unus, 'no one in particular,' i.e. coming forward individually.

aetatem: in later times young boys and girls were exempted from this general execution.

§ 2. obtemperari, &c., 'the sentence could not be carried out.'

§ 3. *ducebantur*, 'were to be taken,' ingressive imperfect, like 'protegebat,' ch. 42, 2.

§ 4. *deportarentur*: the severest form of exile.

*intenderetur*, 'should be strained.'

CH. 46, § 1. *Tarquitius Priscus*: he had, in 53 A.D., accused *Statilius Taurus*, the proconsul of Africa under whom he had served, at the instigation of *Agrippina*, who coveted his estates (*Ann.* xii 59); and the senate had expelled him from their ranks. Probably however he was afterwards restored as otherwise he could hardly have become governor of Bithynia.

*interrogantibus*: the verb is similarly used, xiii 14, 2.

§ 2. *census . . . acti*: 'censum agere' = to receive the returns of property which the subjects had to furnish, on which rested the apportionment of the great tribute of 40,000,000 HS laid on Gaul.

*Q. Volusio*: see xiii 25, 1.

*Sextio Africano*: see xiii 19, 2.

*Trebellio Maximo*: consul with *Seneca* in 58 A.D., and legatus of Britain as successor to *Turpilianus* (ch. 39, 4).

*supra tulere*: raised above the position natural to him.

CH. 47, § 1. *Memmius Regulus*: consul in 31 A.D., and governor of the combined provinces of Moesia, Achaia, and Macedonia prior to the year 44 A.D., when the two latter were restored to the senate. He was husband of *Lollia Paulina* one of the victims of *Agrippina's* jealousy, *Ann.* xii 22.

*si quid fato pateretur*: euphemism, like μή τι πάθει *Hom.* II. v 567, or 'si quid accideret,' *Cic. Phil.* i 4.

§ 2. *quiete*, 'unobtrusive life'; cf. ch. 56, 3.

*nova*: he was not a man of dangerous 'nobilitas.'

*invidiosis*: great enough to excite the emperor's cupidity.

§ 3. *gymnasium*: built for the Neronian games in the *Campus Martius*.

*Graeca facilitate*: one of the Athenian *λειτουργίαι* was the 'gymnasiarchia,' involving the expense of supplying persons preparing themselves for contests at public festivals with the requisites of their training.

CH. 48, § 1. *P. Mario*: probably father of *Marius Celsus*; see xv 25, 5.

*memoravi*: see xiii 28, 1.

*celebri*, 'crowded.'

*Ostorium Scapulam*: son of the legatus of Britain who conquered *Caratacus*, *Ann.* xii 31-39.

§ 2. *Capitone*: see xiii 33, 3.

*Tigellini*: see ch. 51, 5.

*maiestatis*: sc. 'laesae' or 'minutae.' This statute was originally designed against treason in the ordinary sense of the word: 'si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant,' *Ann.* i 72, 3. Under *Tiberius*, according to *Tacitus*, the law was extended to words spoken against

the emperor, and became an instrument of persecution, any word or deed that could be construed as an insult to the emperor providing material for accusation to the informers ('delatores'), who were rewarded on the condemnation of their victim by one-fourth of his property. The penalty on condemnation was exile with loss of property, but in the later years of Tiberius death was inflicted. Trials on this charge were, according to Dio, discontinued by Claudius, after being nominally abolished by Gaius.

§ 3. *ut, &c.*, 'that after condemnation by the senate he might be reprieved from death by the emperor's tribunician veto'; cf. *Intr.* III 3.

§ 4. *pro testimonio dixisset*, 'gave it as his evidence that.'

*consul designatus*: i.e. to be 'consul suffectus' for the latter part of the same year.

*more maiorum*: by scourging. (Such a sentence was eventually passed on Nero, who asked what it meant, and was told 'nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi,' Suet.)

§ 5. *Thræsea*: cf. xiii 49, 1.

§ 6. *carnificem et laqueum*: referring to the ordinary execution by strangling in the Tullianum. As this had been abolished, much more would the ferocious sentence advocated by Marullus be out of place.

*infamia, &c.*, 'without casting disgrace on the times in which they lived.'

§ 7. *in insula*: Paetus recommends that the sentence of 'deportatio' with loss of property should not be exceeded; cf. note on 'maiestatis' above. 'In exile on an island, his property confiscated, the longer he dragged on his guilty life, the more would he personally suffer, and be the greatest possible proof of the clemency of the State.'

CH. 49, § 1. *discessionem . . . permiserat*, 'allowed the senate to divide.' It was within the discretion of the presiding magistrate to rule whether a 'sententia' should or should not be thus submitted to the house (cf. *Cic. Phil.* xiv 7, 21 'has in sententias meas si consules discessionem facere voluissent . . . arma cecidissent'). The consuls could also refuse to give practical effect to what the majority had approved, by not making a formal announcement and registration of the sentence, with the names of the senators who signed it ('scribendo adfuere'); cf. § 2 'perficere decretum senatus non ausi.' For procedure in the senate cf. also xiii 26, 2, and 49, 2.

A. Vitellius: subsequently emperor.

*respondenti reticens*, 'not daring a rejoinder to any who replied to him.'

§ 3. *eunctatus*, 'after a struggle between.'

*pro*, 'in proportion to.' *par*, 'it would have been right.'

§ 4. *impediturus*: cf. ch. 48, 3.

*datam et*, 'they might even acquit him if they so wished.'

§ 5. *ne*, &c., 'so as not to appear to fix the odium (of a harsher sentence) on the emperor.'

*et ne*, 'so as to live up to his reputation' (lit. 'that his glory might not fail').

CH. 50, § 1. **Fabricius Veiento**: well known under Domitian as a consular and an infamous accuser (Juv. iv 113).

**codicillorum**: persons in their wills sometimes attacked the 'princes' or others whom they had not dared to assail in their lifetime, and Augustus had forbidden the senate to punish this licence (by fining the legatees). Presumably Veiento's libel was a parody of a will of this sort.

**venditata**: i.e. he received money for promising to use his influence with Nero to win persons the emperor's 'commendation' to office.

§ 2. **suscipiendi**, 'for trying the case personally.'

**depulit**: the punishment would be 'relegatio.'

**conquisitos**, &c., 'which were eagerly procured and read as long as it was dangerous to get them: when allowed, they were forgotten.'

CH. 51, § 1. **valetudo**, 'ill-health,' 'sickness'; so ch. 22, 6.

§ 2. **in se**, 'internally.' **impedito meatu**, &c., 'the passage becoming blocked, respiration ceased.'

§ 3. **plures**, 'the majority.' Suetonius and Dio assert as an unquestioned fact that Nero had Burrus poisoned, Dio giving as the reason Burrus' opposition to the divorce of Octavia.

**hactenus**, 'no more than this.'

**ego**: stress is laid on 'ego,' as he is made to contrast his own tranquillity with Nero's consciousness of guilt.

§ 4. **segnem innocentiam**, 'inactive harmlessness.'

**flagrantissima flagitia**, 'scandalous vices.'

§ 5. **duos**: before Burrus' appointment, the command of the praetorian cohorts was divided between two officers, *Ann.* xii 42.

**Faenium Rufum**: cf. xiii 22, 1.

**Tigellinum**: exiled under Gaius on suspicion of adultery, and permitted to return under Claudius. He won the favour of Nero by horsebreeding in Apulia, and became 'praefectus vigilum.' The account of his death, under Otho, is given *Hist.* i 72. His first name, given by Med. as 'ofonium,' is corrected from the form *ὁ Σοφώνιος* in Dio.

**secutus**, 'attracted by.'

§ 6. **pro**, &c., 'turned out according to their known characters, Tigellinus standing higher in the emperor's favour and being admitted to his most private debaucheries, while Rufus enjoyed popularity with the people and the soldiers.' For the ablative of quality, cf. ch. 11, 4 'adverso rumore erat.'

CH. 52, § 1. **bonis artibus**, 'good influences.'

**duce**: perhaps 'champion.'

§ 2. **tamquam**, **quod**, and **quasi** (the last, by anastrophe, out of its usual position at the beginning of its own clause), introduce the three grounds of accusation. See *Intr.* II 50.

privatum, &c., 'surpassing the position of a subject.' For Seneca's wealth cf. xiii 42, §§ 6, 7.

§ 3. laudem, &c., 'reputation for eloquence was all monopolized by him.'

§ 4. detrectare, 'depreciated,' 'disparaged.'  
voces, 'notes,' 'tones.'

§ 5. quem ad finem, &c., 'how long must every glorious act of state be supposed to owe its origin to him?'

§ 6. exueret, 'let him shake off his pedagogue.'

satis, &c., 'furnished as he was with sufficiently fine instructors in his ancestors.' amplis, many-sided, capable of serving as a pattern in all relations.

CH. 53. § 2. spei tuae, 'since I became connected with your prospects.'

ut, 'since'; a rare use of the word in this sense with the present tense. So Ovid, 'ut sumus in Ponto.'

medio temporis: so xiii 28, 3.

honores: Seneca was consul, with Trebellius Maximus (mentioned ch. 46, 2), in the latter part probably of 58 A. D.

moderatio eius, 'self-control in respect of it.'

§ 3. meae fortunae, 'belonging to my rank.' So ch. 60, 6.

abavus: for Nero's pedigree see xiii 19, 3.

Mytilenense secretum, 'retirement at Mytilene' (so 'Rhodi secretum,' *Ann.* iv 57, 3). Agrippa was appointed governor of Syria, probably with general proconsular power in the East, in 23 B. C., but left the province to his legati and lived in retirement at Mytilene, effacing himself to avoid rivalry with the young Marcellus. His retirement terminated on the death of Marcellus within the year.

Maecenas: died 8 B. C., after a retirement of eight years, passed principally in his Esquiline villa. The reason of his loss of Augustus' confidence is obscure.

velut peregrinum, 'as though in a foreign country.'

pluribus, 'more' (than ordinary), i.e. 'numerous,' 'a great number of.'

pro: i.e. not surpassing them.

§ 4. quid aliud, &c., 'what other claim could I establish on your bounty except those accomplishments, the result of what I may call my cloistered training?'

ut sic dixerim: a variant for the classical 'ut ita dicam.' A similar rare use of the perf. subjunct. in a subordinate clause, yet referring to present time, occurs in *Ann.* vi 22, 6 'ne . . . longius abierim.'

in umbra: i.e. not in public life. Cf. 'studiis inertibus,' xiii 42, 4. So Quintilian speaks of an academic life as 'solitaria et velut umbratilis vita.' Cf. also Juv. vii 173 'ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra.'

educata: agreeing with 'studia.' The verb is elsewhere always applied to persons by Tacitus.

§ 5. *gratiam*, 'influence,' through his high rank in the State, and position as counsellor.

*pecuniam*: cf. xiii 18, 1 and 42, §§ 6, 7.

*plerumque volvam*, 'often ponder.'

*provinciali loco*: his father M. Seneca the rhetorician migrated to Rome from Corduba (Cordova), and became a knight.

*longa*, &c., 'displaying a long roll of glories' (i.e. of distinguished ancestors).

§ 6. *exstruit*: the term is used of laying out the ground and erecting buildings on it: cf. 'extollere,' *Ann.* xi 1, 1 and xiii 21, 6.

*suburbana*, 'suburban villas.'

*lato faenore*, 'capital out at interest far and wide.'

CH. 54, § 2. *quae*: referring to 'invidiam.' 'This, like all mere mortal things, does not rise to your exalted rank; but it weighs heavily on me.'

§ 3. *adminiculum*, 'a staff of support.'

§ 4. *procuratores*: such as managed the 'res familiaris Caesaris,' cf. xiii 1, 3. *fortunam*: here = 'property.'

*praestringor*, 'I am blinded.' The usual expression is 'praestringere oculos (or visum) alicuius' rather than 'praestringere aliquem.'

*quod*, &c., 'I will restore to my mind (i.e. its cultivation) all the time now set apart for the care of gardens or villas.'

\*§ 5. *superest tibi*, 'you have in abundance.'

*visum*, &c., 'the administration of supreme power has been watched by you through so many years.' The expression *fastigii regimen* for 'imperii regimen' is difficult to accept; and the MSS. are evidently corrupt here. Madvig reads 'nosti summi fastigii' on the supposition that the first syllable of 'nosti' was lost in the preceding 'annos,' and that the second syllable, with 'summi' following, was corrupted into 'visum.'

*reposcere*, 'to demand rest as our due,' corrected from Med. 'respondere.'

*vexisse*: for the more usual 'provexisse.'

CH. 55, § 1. *meditatae*, 'prepared.' *occurram* = 'respondebo.'

*id primum*, &c., 'this is the first gift I have to thank you for.'

*expedire*, &c., 'to express my thoughts not only after consideration but also offhand.'

§ 2. *usurpare concessit*: Intr. II 31.

*sed*, &c., 'but only when he had reached a time of life that could sanction and justify whatever that gift may have been that he bestowed.'

§ 4. *tela et manus tuae*, 'your personal service in the field,' cf. xiii 6, 5.

*ratione*, 'forethought.'

§ 5. *faenus*, 'capital' (laid out at interest).

§ 6. *plerique* = 'permulti.'

§ 7. *libertinos*: especially Pallas, who was still living (ch. 65, 1).

**fortuna:** combining the idea of rank (as in ch. 53, 3) and wealth (as in ch. 54, 4).

**antecellis:** with accus. In Cicero the verb is always used with dative, or absol.

CH. 56, § 1. **aetas:** Seneca was now about sixty-five years old.

**rebus, &c.,** 'for the business of state and its rewards.'

**nisi forte, &c.:** the argument is, 'you are not too old for the further advancement which I desire you to enjoy, unless you think yourself less worthy than Vitellius, who was thrice consul, or me less willing and able to reward my friends than Claudius (under whom Vitellius held his second and third consulship).' L. Vitellius was consul for the first time in 34 A.D., and in the following year went out to Syria as 'legatus,' where he governed 'prisca virtute,' vi 32, 6. He was recalled by Gaius 40 A.D. Under Claudius he was conspicuous as a servile courtier and received two more consulships, the last in 47 A.D., the same year as his odious complicity with Messalina in compassing the death of Asiaticus (*Ann.* xi 3). He was father of A. Vitellius the emperor.

**Volusio:** see xiii 30, 4.

§ 2. **quin,** 'why not?' followed by indicative introduces a question equivalent to an exhortation. Cf. Cic. *c. Rab.* vi 18 'quin continetis vocem?'

**si qua in parte, &c.,** 'if my unstable youth ever is inclined to slip.' Cf. 'lubrica aetas,' xiii 2, 2.

**subsidio:** with 'ornatum'; 'still more zealously direct my manhood, furnished with your support in reserve.'

§ 3. **quies,** 'retirement.'

§ 5. **factus . . . exercitus velare:** see Intr. II 35.

§ 6. **coetus salutantium:** the visitors at the morning levée, 'turba salutantium' slightly spoken of by Seneca himself (*Ep.* xix 11).

**comitantis:** clients and others attending him when he went out. Cf. xiii 46, 5 'congressu et comitatu.'

**rarus,** 'seldom appeared in.'

**sapientiae studiis,** 'philosophical pursuits.' His *Epistolae ad Lucilium* are referred to this period.

CH. 57, § 1. **promptum fuit,** 'it was easy (for his enemies) to bring down Faenius Rufus, making his friendship with Agrippina a charge against him.' **inminuere,** 'degrade,' i.e. lower in Nero's estimation: he was not deposed from office, xv 50, 4. **criminationibus:** dat. after 'promptum.'

**malas artes,** 'accomplishments in vice.'

**rimatur,** 'pries out the causes of his fear.'

**Plautus:** see xiii 19, 3. **Sulla:** xiii 47.

**huic = Plautus; illi = Sulla.** The ordinary reference of these pronouns is reversed in this passage.

§ 2. **diversas, &c.,** 'had an eye to hopes from opposite quarters' (had a divided allegiance). He means that Burrus was under



obligation to Agrippina, was never hearty in acting against her (xiii 20, 5), and might even have sympathized with her scheme for Plautus.

**praesenti opera**: emended from Med. 'presentiora,' an error probably arising from abbreviation. 'He could be secured more or less from plots in the city by his (Tigellinus') diligence on the spot.'

§ 3. **ad**, 'at the sound of.'

**dictatorium**: this Sulla was descended from the great dictator.

**suspensos**, 'excited by expectation,' corrected from Med. 'suspec'os,' thus answering to 'erectas.'

§ 5. **magnis opibus**: abl. of quality.

**praeferre**, 'posed as an ancient Roman.'

**adsumpta**, &c., 'and had further embraced the doctrines of the arrogant Stoic sect, which made men seditious and eager for politics.'

**adrogantia sectaque**: Intr. II 54.

**negotiorum adpetentes**: the popular idea of the Stoic ideal of conduct as contrasted with the Epicurean (Hor. *Ep.* i, 16).

§ 6. **tamquam** = ὥς.

CH. 58, § 1. **spatium**, &c., 'the long journey by land and sea, and the long time which had to intervene' (between the issue of the order and the news of its execution). **itineris**: the journey by land as contrasted with that by sea. [Or one may regard 'itineris' as the journey as a whole, and 'ac maris' as a specification of the part of it particularly subject to delay, 'the length of the route, especially of the part by sea.']

**petitum**, &c., 'that he had fled to Corbulo.'

**praecipuum**, 'the most exposed.'

§ 2. **nec**: the negation applies to 'aut . . . aut,' the sense being that of 'et . . . neque . . . neque.'

**numero**: 60; cf. § 4.

**spes novas**: = 'spem novarum rerum,' cf. xvi 23, 2.

§ 3. **credentium otio**, 'by the indolence of the credulous,' i.e. by indolent credulity (cf. 'otiosum,' xiii 3, 3).

**ceterum** = 're vera autem'; so also xv 52, 3.

**Antistii**: cf. xiii 11, 1.

**effugeret**, &c., 'let him avoid a tame end' (that of submitting to the assassins) 'while there was yet a means of escape.' 'Dum suffugium esset,' with 'miseratione' further on, is corrected from 'otium suffugium et' with 'miserationē' (= 'miserationem'), in Med. An alternative, 'odium suffugium et . . . miserationem,' with colon before and after the phrase, gives fair sense; 'the hatred felt for Nero and the pity aroused by Plautus' great name offered a means of escape.'

§ 4. **adusque**: for 'usque ad,' a poetical form transferred to prose by Tacitus, like 'abusque' in xiii 47, 2. Intr. II 46.

**evalescerent**, &c., 'would be strong enough to result in war.'

CH. 59, § 1. *taedio*, &c., 'sick of suspense about his future' (or perhaps 'shrinking from the uncertainty of the success of a rebellion').

§ 2. *tamquam*, 'saying that,' cf. xiii 28, 5 and Intr. II 50.

C. *Musonius Rufus* was a knight of *Vulsinii* and a renowned Stoic, the teacher of *Epictetus*. On the occasion of the conspiracy of *Piso* he was suspected of complicity and banished, but had returned by 69 A.D. and took part in the politics of that time (*Hist.* iii 81; iv 10 and 40). He is mentioned by the younger *Pliny* as having been his friend. Of *Coeranus* nothing is known beyond his name.

*opperiendae mortis*: defining genitive (Intr. II 26 a).

§ 3. *nudus*, &c., 'stripped for gymnastic exercises.' For the dative cf. Intr. II 11.

*manipulo*, 'a detachment'; the word is not here used in its strict technical sense of a body of two centuries.

*quasi*, &c., 'like a sultan's slave in command of his retinue.'

§ 4. *cur*, &c.: the missing words may have been '*hominem nasutum timuisti?*' Dio gives οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἔφη, ὅτι μεγάλην ῥύνην εἶχεν, ὥσπερ φεισάμενος ἂν αὐτοῦ εἰ τοῦτο προηπίστατο. Cf. his remark on *Sulla* (ch. 57) and *Agrippina* (ch. 9). *Poppaea* had been *Nero's* mistress now for four years (xiii 45, 1).

*amoliri*, 'remove'; so used also in *Ann.* ii 42, 1, of *Tiberius*' alleged intention to contrive the death of *Germanicus*.

*nomine*, 'owing to her father's name,' causal abl. (Intr. II 19). The imperial prestige was hers in her own right as being daughter of *Claudius*, and so *Nero* viewed her with jealousy and suspicion.

*gravem*, 'obnoxious,' to *Nero* (cf. ch. 39, 2).

*magna cura haberi*, 'was watched over by himself with great solicitude.'

§ 6. *eo nomine*, 'on that pretext'; i.e. for his vigilance in detecting the plots of these men.

*gravioribus*, &c., 'the mockery (of this condemnation of dead men) seeming even more revolting than the crimes' (the murder itself). *iam* is here read for *Med.* 'tā' (= 'tamen'), which would mean '(a sentence) however more grievous as an insult than as a positive injury.'

CH. 60, § 1. *euncta scelerum*: cf. Intr. II 23 b.

*exturbat . . . coniungitur*: these statements are anticipatory, the facts related in §§ 2-4 having taken place before the divorce was effected, and the divorce being stated again in its proper place at § 5.

§ 2. *diu*: see ch. 59, 4. 'Long his mistress, and ruling *Nero* first as her paramour and next as her husband.'

*impulit . . . obicere*: cf. xiii 19, 4; Intr. II 31.

§ 3. *canere tibiis*: for *Med.* 'ptybias' = 'per tibiae,' an unexampled construction.

§ 4. *adnuerent* = 'adfirmarent.'

§ 5. *movetur*: simple for compound, cf. ch. 32, 4.

*civilis*, &c., 'under colour of an ordinary legal divorce,' not as if

convicted on a criminal charge, which, if sustained, would have amounted to 'maiestas.' The ground alleged was sterility (§ 1), and the estates assigned were probably given in satisfaction of her claim of 'dos.'

**domum Burri**: inherited or purchased after his death by Nero.

**praedia Plauti**: confiscated after his execution.

§ 6. **eui**, &c., 'who show less prudence and run fewer risks, thanks to their humble station.'

**his . . . tamquam**, &c.: the words in Med. are 'his quamquam . . . revocavit,' but are evidently faulty: ch. 61, 3 (ne . . . mutaretur) shows that Nero did not actually restore Octavia to her position, although Poppaea was fearing that the popular excitement might induce him to do so: it seems that the passage has lost words describing some modification of her ill-treatment which gave rise to a rumour that he had restored her. For 'tamquam' see Intr. II 50.

CH. 61, § 1. **tandem**: as though hitherto the prevalence of injustice had shaken men's faith.

**spargunt floribus**: an honour paid to persons on triumphal occasions.

§ 2. **repetitum venerantium**: the reading is very questionable, but sense can be made of it by taking 'principis' as objective genitive and 'venerantium' as subjective, with 'laudes,' while the elsewhere unknown substantive 'repetitus' may be defended on the analogy of other such nouns adopted by Tacitus (see Intr. II 51, a.). It will then mean 'recourse was had even to eulogies of the emperor on the part of those praising her recall.'

**quae verterant**, 'the changes which they had made' in respect of the statues.

§ 3. **provoluta genibus**: the more usual phrase is 'provolvere ad genua.'

**loei**: partitive genitive, with 'eo'; = 'her fortunes were not now in such a position.'

**potius**: adjective.

**ausi**: masculine κατὰ σύνεσιν (notwithstanding the preceding 'quae'); so *Ann.* iv 48, 5 'auxilia . . . caesi.'

§ 4. **qui**, &c. 'but he would be easily found once the rising was on foot, only let her leave Campania and come in person to Rome, since by her mere nod, even in absence, she could create a rebellion.' **reperiretur**: the conditional subjunctive is here retained in apodosis, in place of the regular 'quem . . . repertum iri.'

§ 5. **quod alioquin**, &c.: the reasoning is, 'Otherwise, if this attack were really directed against me, instead of being a covert attack on Nero, some charge would be alleged against me. But what is that charge?'

**veram**: 'true-born.' Her daughter was born in the following January (xv 23, 1).

**tibicinis**: meaning Eucærus, ch. 60, 3.

**induei**, 'to be thrust into imperial grandeur.'

§ 6. *quam*: 'potius' omitted. Cf. *Intr.* II 47.

*dominam*, 'the wife whose slave he would be.'

*vel*: for 'aut.' Cf. *ch.* 35, 4.

§ 7. *illi*, &c., 'will find her a husband' (to drive out Nero). The remedy for this danger was Octavia's execution.

*CH.* 62, § 1. *varius*, &c., 'her various representations, adapted to his fear and anger, filled him with terror and indignation.'

*elusa erat*, 'had been frustrated'; the subject is '*suspicio*.' in *servo*: 'in the case of the slave,' i.e. of adultery with Eucærus.

§ 3. *memoravi*: *ch.* 3, 5.

*gratia*, *odio*: ablatives of quality.

*quia*, &c., 'because the agents of our crimes seem to upbraid us when we look on them.' ('*Facinus*' here simply = deed.)

§ 5. *manu*, 'violence.'

§ 6. *insita vae cordia*, 'natural perversity,' i.e. unreasoning malice.

*facilitate*, &c., 'with the same willingness as that shown in his previous crimes.'

*amicos*: the judicial '*consilium amicorum principis*'; cf. *xiii* 23, 4. [In the case of a wife, the investigation might have taken the form of a family trial, as in *xiii* 32, 4.] It is implied in '*velut*' that the process was a sham.

*fato obiit*, 'died a natural death'; '*fatum*' = what happens in the ordinary course of nature.

*CH.* 63, § 1. *in spem*, 'with a view to the hope.'

*paulo ante*: *ch.* 60, 1.

*Pandateria*: identified with the modern 'Vandotena,' a little to the north of the bay of Naples.

§ 2. *Agrippinae*: the wife of Germanicus, banished by Tiberius in 29 A.D., died 33 A.D. (*Ann.* vi 25).

*Iuliae*: daughter of Germanicus, banished by the influence of Messalina on a charge of adultery with Seneca, in 41 A.D., and soon afterwards put to death.

§ 3. *robur ætatis*: this seems hardly true of Julia, who was only twenty-three years old at the time of her banishment, and probably no older than Octavia.

§ 4. *patre* = Claudius, died in 54 A.D. the year after Octavia's marriage.

*fratre* = Britannicus, died in 55 A.D., *xiii* 15, 16.

*ancilla* = Acte. With these clauses supply some general notion like '*patienda fuerunt*' from '*huic fuit*' above.

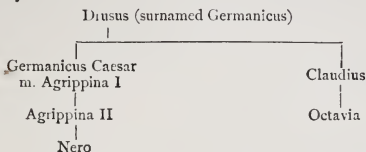
*CH.* 64, § 1. *puella*: so of a young wife, *xvi* 30, 3, and often in poets, as *Hor. Od.* iii 22, 2.

*vicensimo*: incorrect. She was older than Britannicus, whose birth is dated twenty-one years or twenty before this year (cf. *xiii* 15, 1).

*praesagio*, &c., 'though already cut off from life by the foreknowledge of her doom, did not yet find rest in death.'

§ 2. *iam viduam*, 'no longer a wife.'

**sororem**: because Nero had been adopted by her father Claudius.  
**communes Germanicos**: her grandfather Drusus was honoured at his death with the title Germanicus, to be borne by himself and his posterity.



§ 3. **pressus**=‘repressus’; the simple verb for the compound, as ‘moveo’ ch. 59, 6 and ch. 18, 1 (Intr. II 28).

**vapore**, ‘hot air.’ (‘Heat,’ xi 3, 2, and xv 43, 5.)

§ 4. **dona**, &c., ‘As for the gifts to the temples decreed on this occasion, how long must I go on recounting (such hypocrisy)?’ For ‘quem ad finem’ cf. Cic. *Cat.* i 1 ‘quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia?’ The text thus emended gives a thoroughly characteristic sentence, combining the special consideration (‘why describe the gifts decreed on this occasion?’) with the general reflection, ‘how many more such acts must I recount?’ A MS. inferior to Med. gives ‘dona . . . decreta: quod eum ad finem memorabimus ut,’ &c.; but this would require ‘finem’ to be taken in the unusual sense ‘purpose,’ ‘design,’ and makes the whole passage far less forcible.

§ 5. **auctoribus**: ablative absolute.

**praesumptum habeant**, ‘let them take for granted.’ For similar use of ‘habere’ cf. xiii 21, 3.

§ 6. **neque tamen**, &c., ‘however, I shall not pass over in silence any decree of the Senate showing novel forms of flattery or sinking to the lowest depths of obsequiousness.’ For ‘postremus’ in this sense cf. ‘servitus postremum malorum omnium’ Cic. *Phil.* ii 44.

CH. 65, § 1. **creditus est**: Intr. II 33. **Doryphorum**: it appears from Dio that he held the post ‘a libellis’ (=secretary to attend to petitions to the Emperor), in which he probably succeeded Callistus, *Ann.* xi 29, 1.

**quasi**: this need not imply that the cause was a mere pretext; see Intr. II 50.

**Pallantem**: cf. xiii 14, 1-2. Dio gives his wealth as 400 million HS.

**detineret**, ‘was keeping from him.’ Nero, as Pallas’ former master, would receive a portion of his wealth, by the ‘lex Papia Poppaea,’ if there were fewer than three children to inherit it.

§ 2. **Romanus**: a proper name, mentioned without any further description, perhaps because particulars about him were given in the part of the Annals now lost.

## TACITUS ANNALS: NOTES

**socium**: we are expressly told that the real conspiracy of Piso took its first impulse from this incident. We must understand that no plot had yet been formed, but that Seneca's intimacy with Piso was made the ground of an accusation which had some force owing to the latter's distinguished position.

**sed, &c.**, 'but the same charge was turned on him by Seneca with greater force and he was himself crushed.'

**insidiarum**: described in xv. 48 and foll.

## ANNALS. BOOK XV

### Ch. 1-17. Affairs in the East.

1. Vologeses summoned to help by Tiridates and by Monobazus, governor of Adiabene. 2. He calls a council, crowns Tiridates, and prepares for war. 3. Defensive measures of Corbulo. 4. Tigranes besieged in Tigranocerta by Parthians under Monaeses. 5. The siege raised in consequence of a message from Corbulo: Vologeses sends an embassy to Rome. 6. Caesennius Paetus sent to command in Armenia. 7, 8. War renewed: Paetus rashly invades Armenia and gains some successes. 9-11. Corbulo takes a strong position on the Euphrates: the Parthian attack turned to Armenia, where the Roman force, weakened by dispersion, is blockaded and reduced to extremities. 12-16. Corbulo comes to the rescue, but finds that Paetus had been forced to accept humiliating conditions. 17. Corbulo retires to Syria: Armenia left neutral, and an embassy again sent to Rome

### Ch. 18-22. Affairs at Rome.

18. The reverses ignored at Rome; as also a great loss of corn by storm and fire. Nero's boast of his public munificence. 19. Decree of the senate against fictitious adoptions. 20-22. Charge against Claudius Timarchus of Crete: votes of thanks by provincial subjects to their governors forbidden on the motion of Thræsea: portents and other minor events recorded.

A. U. C. 816, A. D. 63. C. Memmius Regulus, L. Verginius Rufus, *coss.*

### Ch. 23. Birth (followed soon by death) of Nero's daughter by Poppæa: public rejoicings: evidence of Nero's dislike of Thræsea.

### Ch. 24-31. Affairs in the East.

24, 25. The embassy from Vologeses shows the true state of affairs: their terms rejected, and Corbulo appointed to command with extensive powers: Paetus contemptuously pardoned. 26, 27. Corbulo takes the field in force, following the route of Lucullus, shows willingness to treat with Vologeses and Tiridates, expels the disaffected Armenian nobles from their strongholds. 28-31. Conference on the site of the defeat of Paetus: Tiridates agrees to lay down his diadem for the present, and to receive it from Nero at Rome: his visit to the camp, and subsequent journey to his brothers before departing for Italy.

### Ch. 32. Ius Latij given to the people of the Maritime Alps: seats reserved for knights at the circus: more senators and women of rank enter the arena.

## TACITUS ANNALS: NOTES

**A. U. C. 817, A. D. 64. C. Laecanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, cons.**

**Ch. 33-35.** Nero appears on the stage of the public theatre at Naples, which falls just after the performance. He attends a show of gladiators given by Vatinius at Beneventum: Torquatus Silanus forced to suicide.

**Ch. 36, 37.** He returns to Rome, and is deterred by some superstitious fear from his projected tour to the East. Banquet given by Tigellinus. Nero descends to the lowest depths of profligacy.

**Ch. 38-45.** Great fire in Rome, and its results.

38-41. Origin and progress of the fire: measures taken by Nero, and suspicion cast upon him, especially at its second outbreak: ancient temples destroyed. 42, 43. Magnificence of Nero's restored palace: grand schemes of his architects, Severus and Celer. Improvements made in rebuilding the houses of the city. 44. Expiatory ceremonies: Nero casts suspicion on the Christians; of whom a vast number are put to death with the utmost cruelty. 45. Contributions of money and works of art extorted everywhere: withdrawal of Seneca into greater privacy, and alleged attempt to poison him.

**Ch. 46, 47.** Minor events: outbreak of gladiators: great shipwreck: prodigies noted.

**A. U. C. 818, A. D. 65. A. Licinius Silius Nerva, M. Vestinus Atticus, cons.**

**Ch. 48-74.** Conspiracy of Piso, and its detection and suppression.

48-50. Character of Piso: names and motives of some of the leading conspirators, who are joined by several officers of the praetorian guard. 51-53. Epicharis tries to gain over an officer of the Misenian fleet and is betrayed. After various changes of plan, the plot is arranged to be carried out at the Circensian games. 54-57. Betrayal of the plot by Milichus a freedman: Scaevinus and Natalis are arrested and give up the names of others. Heroic death of Epicharis. 58, 59. Military occupation of Rome and its suburbs: many arrests made: Piso rejects bolder counsels and commits suicide. 60-65. Execution of Plautius Lateranus. Seneca accused by Natalis: his last moments and death: preservation of his wife Paulina. Notice of a report that some of the conspirators had designed to make him emperor. 66-70. Detection and execution of the chief military conspirators. The consul Vestinus put to death without a charge. Death of Lucan and others. 71. Milichus rewarded: several others sentenced to minor penalties or pardoned. 72-74. Gift to the soldiers. The senate summoned to confer various distinctions. Notice of Nymphidius Sabinus. Minutes of evidence recorded. Peril of Junius Gallio. Offerings decreed to gods. Ill-omened flattery of Anicius Cerialis.

**CH. 1, § 1.** The narrative of Eastern affairs is taken up from



xiv 26, where it was carried down to the end of 60 A.D. Corbulo had set up Tigranes and arranged the affairs of Armenia, and had himself retired into Syria; the events here related begin in the following spring.

**regem . . . impositum** : see xiv 26. (The acc. and infin. depends on 'cognito' supplied from 'cognitis' above, cf. xiv 33, 2.)

**alienigenam** : so the pure Arsacidae term him, although he was distantly related to that family.

**fastigium**, 'dignity,' 'sovereignty' (cf. xiv 54, 5).

**continui foederis** : a standing treaty had existed between Rome and Parthia since 20 B.C., and had been renewed by Artabanus with Tiberius and Gaius (cf. xiii 9, 1); the recent hostilities between the two empires had not been direct, but in support of opposing allies.

**defectione Hyrcanorum** : cf. xiii 37 and xiv 25.

§ 2. **ambiguum**, 'hesitating.'

**novus . . . nuntius** : by hypallage = 'novae contumeliae nuntius'; cf. Livy i 1, 4 'ad maiora rerum initia.' (Intr. II 57.)

**Adiabenos** : inhabiting Adiabene, the northern part of Assyria between the Tigris and its tributary the Lycus (Greater Zab).

**latius**, &c., 'too extensively and permanently for a mere foray.' For 'vastare' with personal object, cf. xiv 23, 4.

**gentium** = tribes composing the Parthian empire.

**obsidis** : cf. xiv 26, 1.

§ 4. **iam**, &c., 'already Armenia was given up, and the border land was being appropriated.' Cf. xiii 57, 1 'vi trahunt.'

**et nisi**, &c. : the sense is 'unless Parthia saves us, we must in our own interests surrender to Rome,' but it is put less bluntly, as a general statement, 'those who surrender get easier terms of subjection than the captured.'

§ 5. **regni profugus** : so in Pliny (*N. H.*) 'vinculorum profugus.' Elsewhere Tacitus uses ablat. with this adj.

**gravior erat**, 'made more impression.'

**contineri**, 'are held together.' This, and the following words, give the substance of Tiridates' words (as following 'querendo').

**in summa fortuna**, &c., 'in the highest station, might is right,' cf. xiii 6, 5.

**de alienis**, &c., 'to set up a claim on what is another's.'

CH. 2, § 1. **concilium** : consisting of the 'megistanes'; cf. ch. 27, 4.

**summo**, &c., 'had withdrawn his claim to the highest title (that of 'king of kings').

Vologeses is spoken of in *Ann.* xii 44, 2 as reigning 'concessu fratrum,' and as having been born of an inferior mother. Media and Armenia are here described as inheritances bestowed by the great king upon his brothers Pacorus and Tiridates.

§ 2. **contra**, &c., 'in refutation of the traditional hatred and rivalry between brothers.' Cf. 'antiquas fratrum discordias,' xiii 17, 2.

**laccessitam**, 'disturbed.'

§ 3. *ibo infitias*: only found here in Tacitus, and before him chiefly used by Livy and the comic writers.

*causa*, 'by right' or 'negotiation,' similarly opposed to '*armis*' in xiii 37, 5.

*malueram*: rhetorical for '*maluissem*'; cf. Intr. II 38.

§ 4. *aestimatur*, 'is taken into account.'

§ 5. *promptam*, 'ready for service.'

*exturbare*: for this infin. after '*mandavit*' cf. Intr. II 31.

*vires intimas*, 'his reserves.'

*molem belli*, 'the main force of war.'

CH. 3, § 1. *Verulano Severo*: cf. xiv 26, 1.

*Vettio Bolano*: he was consul suffectus with C. Calpurnius Piso, and in 69 A.D. became legatus of Britain. He seems also to have been proconsul of Asia at the end of Vespasian's life. He is described in a poem of Statius (*Sylv.* v 2, 30-67).

*compositus*, &c., 'with deliberation rather than despatch.'

*habere*, 'to have war on hand rather than prosecute it' (to a speedy conclusion). Corbulo desired to be retained in his command in the East as long as possible, according to Tacitus, who elsewhere attributes selfish motives to him, cf. ch. 6, §§ 3, 6, and ch. 10, 7.

§ 2. *ingruente*: the personal use of the verb is a reminiscence of Vergil's '*ingruit Aeneas*,' *Aen.* xii 628.

§ 3. *reliquas*: three. There were now six legions operating in the East (cf. ch. 6, 5).

*pro ripa*, 'on the bank.' Cf. xiv 30, 1.

*tumultuariam*, 'hastily levied,' i.e. called out in this sudden emergency.

*hostiles ingressus*, 'points where the enemy might enter' (or possibly, 'invasions on the part of the enemy'; cf. '*hostiles minae*,' xiii 57, 4).

*quia egena*: i.e. the springs were so few that all could be guarded or destroyed, so as to deprive the Parthians of water.

*congestu harenae*= '*congesta harena*'; cf. '*molium obiectus*,' xiv 8, 2; Intr. II 57.

CH. 4, § 1. *Monaeses*: cf. ch. 2, 5.

*ut famam*, &c., 'to anticipate the news of his approach.'

§ 2. *Tigranocertam*: for variations in the form of this name see Intr. II 62.

*magnitudine moenium*: the town had no doubt been dismantled by Lucullus, but had been subsequently refortified.

§ 3. *Niephorius*: if Pliny's mention of this river, in the *N. H.*, as a tributary of the Tigris is to be accepted, it might be the '*Bitlis-Su*.' But the identification of Tigranocerta with '*Tell-Ermen*' harmonizes best with the accounts of the place given in Tacitus and Strabo, in which case this river must be taken to be a branch of the '*Khabour*,' itself a branch of the Euphrates.

§ 4. *milites*: sc. '*Romani*': Corbulo left a force for the defence of Armenia in the previous year (xiv 26, 3).

**provisi**, 'taken thought for.'

**quorum subvectu**, = 'qui (commeatus) dum subvehuntur.' For a similar use of such a substantive cf. *Agr.* 33, 1 'procursu' (= 'dum procurrit'), and for a similar ablative cf. ch. 8, 3 'percurcando,' and *Intr.* II 22 b.

**repentinis**, 'suddenly appearing,' i.e. 'by the unexpected appearance of the enemy.' For the omission of the preposition where it is not so much the person as the person's presence that is meant, cf. *Ann.* vi 44 'Tiridates simul fama atque ipso Artabano percussus.'

**accenderant**: applied by zeugma to 'metu'; cf. xiii 35, 7.

§ 5. **semet frustratur**, 'deceives himself,' by imagining that 'an occasional discharge of arrows' could produce any effect.

CH. 5, § 1. **expostularent**, 'to make complaint.'

**provinciae**: i.e. Syria. Mention has not yet been made of the raids to which Corbulo refers.

§ 2. **Casperius**: mentioned in *Ann.* xii 45 as having protested against the shameful way in which Pollio, a Roman 'praefectus castrorum,' was induced by Rhadamistus to put Mithridates in his power, 51 A.D. (*Intr.* V).

**Nisibis** was the chief city of Mygdonia, a district in the north-east of Mesopotamia, and still exists as 'Nisibin' or 'Nessabin.' (The distance here specified favours the view identifying Tigranocerta with Tell-Ermen.)

§ 3. **vitandi**: the idea of 'studium' or 'consilium' is to be understood from the neuter adjectives. Cf. xiii 26, 4 'nec grave manu missis . . . retinendi libertatem' (sc. 'onus').

**prospere fluebant**: cf. *Cic. Off.* i 26, 90 'rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus.'

§ 4. **manu et copiis**: referring to the 'milites' and 'commeatus,' cf. ch. 4, 4.

**pro Suria**, 'on the frontier of Syria.'

**inbecillum**: the construction naturally passes to oratio obliqua since the preceding sentences embody the reflections of Vologeses.

**vis locustarum**: so 'vis piscium' (*Ann.* xii 63, 2, 'odora canum vis,' *Verg. Aen.* iv 132).

§ 5. **super** = 'de.' So in Plautus, Sallust, occasionally in Cicero's letters; not in Caesar, but often in Livy. So *Verg. Aen.* i 750 multa super Priamo rogatus, super Hectore multa.

**petenda**: the language of xiii 34, 4 implies that the Romans had offered Tiridates the throne of Armenia on condition of recognizing the suzerainty of Rome: the Parthians now propose that Tiridates shall make that acknowledgement.

CH. 6, § 1. **magnifica**, 'as glorious to Rome.'

**pepigiisse**: the facts certainly point to a compact between the belligerents to evacuate Armenia pending the reference of the question to Rome (chs. 5, 5 and 6, 2).

**Tigranes**: Tacitus does not say what subsequently became of him, but Josephus states that his son Alexander married a daughter

of Antiochus, king of Commagene (cf. xiii 7, 1), and was set up as king of a small island off Cilicia by Vespasian.

§ 2. *hibernavisæ*: this was the winter of 61-62 A.D., spent by the Roman troops on the eastern frontier of Cappadocia ('*extrema Cappadocia*') instead of at Tigranocerta. We may presume the compact was made just before winter, and that this passage embodies the comments passed at Rome the following spring.

§ 3. *meritæ*, 'earned,' 'acquired.' (The word does not necessarily convey the notion of 'merit,' cf. '*vulnera mereri*,' *Germ.* 14, 5; '*ex eo quod meruerat odio*,' *Caes. B. G.* vi 5, 2.)

*non*: cf. xiii 40, 3.

§ 4. *ut rettuli*: ch. 3, 2.

*adventare audiebatur*: *Intr.* II 33.

*Caesennius*: cf. xiv 29, 1.

§ 5. *legiones*: the fourth and twelfth, given to Caesennius Pactus, were not those which had seen service with Corbulo, but had remained in Syria.

*auxilia*: the three districts from which these auxiliaries came were not occupied by any Roman legions.

*prior*: auxiliaries already under arms before the war.

*ex rerum usu*, 'in accordance with the requirements of events.'

§ 6. *cui satis*, &c., 'whose real deserts would have been satisfied, if he were placed next to Corbulo.' For the indicative cf. '*poterat*,' ch. 10, 1 and *Intr.* II 38.

*usurpatas*, &c., 'only in name had he made a practice of storming cities'; for '*nomine tenuis*' cf. '*ore tenuis*,' ch. 45, 4.

*pro umbra*, &c., 'instead of a phantom king' (such as Tigranes and others before him). Paetus promises the reduction of Armenia to a Roman province.

CH. 7, § 1. *sub idem tempus*: in the spring of 62 A.D.

*memoravi*: ch. 5, 5.

§ 2. *Funisulanus Vettonianus* was one of the foremost men in the state under Domitian, and an inscription detailing his appointments and honours has been found in Pannonia, where he held command in 85 A.D.

*Calavius Sabinus*, otherwise unknown. He and Funisulanus appear to have come out with Paetus, as other legati were appointed to the legions in Armenia by Corbulo, ch. 3, 1.

*Armeniam intrat*: starting from Cappadocia, he would probably cross the river near Melitene, and then proceed southwards towards Tigranocerta.

§ 3. *nulla palam causa*: so in xiv 32, 1.

*consularia insignia*: a richly caparisoned horse was assigned to a dictator or consul, to whom the regal insignia descended; this would not, however, belong to Paetus in his capacity of '*legatus*'; but he would have a horse carrying the '*fascis*' on the march.

§ 4. *hibernaculis*: those under construction for the coming winter, viz. that of 62-63 A.D.

**adsistens**: i.e. put there to be sacrificed when the work was completed.

CH. 8, § 1. **nullo . . . provisu**: a Tacitean variation for 're frumentaria non provisa' (so 'provisi . . . commeatus,' ch. 4, 4). For the form of the expression here, cf. 'congestu harenae,' ch. 3, 4.

**rapit** = 'raptim ducit'; taken apparently from Verg. *Aen.* vii 725.

**reciperandis**: dative of purpose; cf. Intr. II 11. For the evacuation of Tigranocerta by the Romans cf. ch. 6, 2.

§ 2. **partum, si . . . habuisset**: cf. Intr. II 38.

§ 3. **percurcando**: equivalent to 'dum percursat,' cf. xiv 31, 5, xv 4, 4; Intr. II 22 b: 'inasmuch as the corn which he had taken was spoilt, while he overran in long marches districts which he could not hold, and as winter was at hand,' &c.

hieme = 62-63 A.D.

**rerum vacuas**: so Sall. *Jug.* 90, 1 ('ager frugum vacuus.'

CH. 9, § 1. **ponti**: the position was probably at Zeugma, where it appears that no permanent bridge was kept up, but that the means of constructing one were kept ready.

**subiectis**: sc. 'fluvio,' 'lying near the river'; ablative of place.

**magna specie**, 'with imposing display.'

**naves . . . auctas**: floating batteries to protect those working at the bridge.

**agit per amnem**, 'moves across the river.'

**saxa**: these were thrown from 'ballistae' and spears from 'catapultae.'

**contrario sagittarum iactu**: Intr. II 57.

§ 2. **quintam**: from Moesia, ch. 6, 5; **reliquas** = fourth and twelfth, *ibid.*

**commeatibus**, 'furloughs.'

**donec**: this invasion, and the operations down to ch. 17, 4, may be ascribed to the beginning of the winter. The seat of war was in southern Armenia, where winter sets in much later and with less severity than in the northern region, where Corbulo's soldiers had previously suffered so severely (xiii 35).

CH. 10, § 1. **accitur**, 'is summoned,' i.e. from separate winter quarters, to join Paetus, who was encamped with the Fourth Legion at a place called by Dio Rhandaia, on the Arsanias, near the passes of the Taurus chain and at no great distance from the frontier of Cappadocia.

**et unde, &c.**, 'and the very step by which he had hoped to have it reported that his army was increased only betrayed his weakness.'

**qua**: the antecedent is 'infrequentia,' = 'few troops,' abstract for concrete. 'Yet even with this meagre force,' &c.

**eludi**, 'to be baffled.'

**tractu belli** = 'trahendo bellum,' cf. ch. 3, 4.

**poterat, si . . . fuisset**: cf. ch. 6, 6.

§ 2. **ubi . . . firmatus erat**: the frequentative pluperfect; cf. chs. 30, 1; 38, 6. 'After receiving sound advice from experienced

soldiers in face of the difficulties of the situation, he continually went over to the opposite and inferior course.'

§ 3. *quasi . . . certaturus*: expressing purpose, like the Greek *ὡς* with fut. partic. (The intention need not be regarded as fictitious, cf. *Intr.* II 50.)

§ 4. *visendis*: dative of purpose; cf. *Intr.* II 11.

§ 5. *quo*: the antecedent is 'iugo.'

§ 6. *Arsamosata*: an unimportant 'castellum' within easy reach of Paetus' camp, distinct from the important Armenian city of the same name mentioned by Polybius and the elder Pliny.

§ 7. *instantem*: sc. 'hostem.'

*nec a Corbulone*, &c.: cf. chs. 3, 1 and 6, 3.

§ 8. *itineri*: cf. 'verberibus' xiii 26, 2 and 'bello' xiii 9, 6.

*legionibus*: ch. 6, 5.

*parem numerum*: the auxiliary infantry accompanying a legion were usually equal to it in number, so that 'parem' refers to the total of legionary infantry together with their accompanying 'alarii,' and denotes about 3800.

CH. II, § 1. *nihil mutato*, &c.: by rapid condensation of expression, Tacitus, instead of continuing with some such words as 'inceptum iter perrexit,' turns off to a particular account of the events of the march, 'sed' contrasting 'vi ac minis' with 'nihil mutato consilio.'

*alares*: cf. ch. 10, 5.

*legionarios*: probably the 'tria milia' of ch. 10, 5.

*agitabat*: see note on xiii 14, 1 'agebat.'

*ignium iactu*: cf. 'congestu harenarum,' ch. 3, 4.

§ 2. *longinqua et avia*: sc. 'petivere.'

*saevitiam*, 'fierceness.'

*gentium*: cf. ch. 1, 2.

*extollentes*, 'exaggerating.'

*facili credulitate*: repeated from xiv 4, 2.

*pavebant*: *Intr.* II 6 b.

CH. 12, § 1. *qua*, &c., 'where the most direct route (lay), and (there was) no scarcity of provisions.' The neuter adjectives are practically equivalent to substantives; cf. *Intr.* II 2 b.

*Commagenam*: here adjective. For the country and its government, cf. xiii 7, 1.

*Armenios*: Corbulo did not enter Armenia, being met by Paetus on the Euphrates at the frontier of Cappadocia (ch. 16, 4).

§ 2. *praeter*, &c., 'besides the other (accessories) usual in war.'

*vis*: cf. ch. 5, 4.

*frumenti*: so in Plautus, 'aulam onustam auri.' The genitive is like those with 'plenus,' &c.

§ 3. *Paccium*: cf. xiii 36, 1.

*plerosque*, 'many.'

*redire . . . experiri*: cf. ch. 2, 5 and *Intr.* II 31.

*experiri*, 'make trial of,' i.e. throw themselves on Paetus' mercy.

se, &c., 'his own forgiveness was to be won only by victory.'

§ 4. *priorum*, 'his former victories'; xiii 39 foll., xiv 23 foll.

§ 5. *si*, &c.: the language is difficult, and '*aspiceretur*' is here read as a correction for Med. '*apisceretur*.' The general sense, partly obscured by brevity and a rhetorical mode of expression (appropriate to a person fond of '*verba magnifica*,' xiii 8, 4), is, 'If a single soldier wins special honours for saving a comrade, how much greater must the glory be when a whole army saves another army as large as itself.' Translate, 'If individual privates received from the emperor's hand the distinction of a crown for saving a fellow-citizen's life, how great must that glory be when equal hosts were seen bringing and receiving safety.'

*praecipua*: i.e. a gift of special distinction. The honours going with a 'civic crown' are given by the elder Pliny: '*accepta licet uti perpetuo, ludos ineunti semper adsurgi etiam ab senatu in more est. sedendi ius in proximo senatui. vacatio munerum omnium ipsi patrique et avo paterno.*'

*imperatoria*: the 'princeps' alone could confer this honour at this period.

§ 6. *in commune*, 'as a whole,' in distinction from the special incentives also influencing certain members of the general body; cf. xiii 27, 6; xv 63, 1.

*diu*, 'by day,' an archaism.

CH. 13, § 1. *castrum*: *Arsamosata*, ch. 10, 6.

*adpugnare*: 'made demonstrations against.'

*si*, 'in case that,' implying design or expectation.

§ 2. *contuberniis*: ablat. cf. Hor. *Sat.* i 1, 11 '*rure extractus in urbem.*'

*extracti*, sc. '*sunt.*'

*nec aliud quam*: cf. '*nec amplius quam,*' xiii 40, 6.

*propugnabant*: so also with accusative, xiii 31, 5.

*exemplis*, &c.: the text is emended from Med. '*exemplis caudinum antineque eandem.*' For the disaster inflicted by the Samnites on the Romans at the 'Caudine Forks,' 321 B.C., cf. Livy ix 1-6. By the 'Numantine disaster' the capitulation of Mancinus, in 137 B.C. is meant.

*Italicus populo*: Tacitus ignores the fact that at that time the Romans, as well as the Samnites, were a mere '*Italicus populus,*' and not a world power.

*ac Parthis*: for Med. '*aut poenis.*'

§ 3. *antiquitatem*, 'the mighty and glorious heroes of old,' abstract for concrete, cf. xiii 1, '*dominationibus,*' xiii 42, '*subitae felicitati.*'

*quotiens*, &c., 'whenever fortune pronounced against them.' The phrase is analogous to the judicial '*secundum aliquem dare.*'

§ 4. *pro Armeniis*: ch. 15, 3 shows they were now on the Parthian side, and ch. 6, 6 represents Paetus intending to conquer Armenia as being a hostile country. In ch. 27, 4 certain of the '*megistanes*' are called the leaders of revolt from Rome.

**ex aequo**: with 'utilem,' 'peace would be equally advantageous to both.'

**CH. 14, § 1. pro causa** = 'pro re ipsa' (or rather, 'by way of making his defence,' 'pleading his rights,' cf. ch. 2, 3 where 'causa' is opposed to 'arma' and used almost as a synonym for 'aequitas,' and also xiii 37, 5, where it is used of negotiation or legal pleading as opposed to 'vis').

**illum, &c.**, 'the place in which he was, and that time, had been fixed for a consultation as to what settlement of Armenia they should arrange.'

**cernerent**: the verb is used in the sense of 'decernere,' an archaic sense, found in judicial language in Cicero and Livy, and also, of decision by combat, in old poets; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* xii 708 'cernere ferro.'

**dignum**, 'a thing worthy of.' Elsewhere Tacitus prefers ablative with this adjective, but genitive is found with it in Plautus and Ovid.

**ut**: following 'simul' by 'anastrophe,' see Intr. II 55 b; similarly in *Ann.* xii 49, 3 'ut' is the fifth word in its own clause.

**§ 2. Paeto**: dative of agent: cf. xiii 20, 1 'nox Neroni trahebatur' and Intr. II 10.

**§ 3. Lucullos, Pompeios**: plurals by rhetorical exaggeration: cf. 'gentibus,' xiv 11, 2; so also 'saepe,' xiii 6, 1; 'semper,' xv 47, 1. **optinendae**: dative of purpose.

**vim**, 'real power,' as opposed to 'imaginem,' 'show.'

**§ 4. disceptato**: see Intr. II 21 a.

**§ 5. quibus perpetratis**: for the irony cf. ch. 25, 2 'intellecto barbarum inrisu, qui peterent quod eripuerant.'

**CH. 15, § 1. Arsaniae**. The Arsanias was probably the Murad, the principal eastern branch of the Euphrates. It would appear that the Roman camp was on its northern side, so that the Parthians had to cross it to take possession of the camp, but the Romans could retreat towards Cappadocia without doing so.

**imposuit**: subject 'Paetus.'

**specie**, 'under pretence of preparing this route for his retreat.'

**quasi**: denoting a real motive (Intr. II 50).

**per diversum**, 'taking an opposite direction.' Cf. xiii 40, 5 'ex diverso' and xiii 57, 3 'diversa acies.'

**§ 2. alia ex, &c.**, 'other indignities suitable to (or involved in) a disaster, the semblance of which was employed by the Armenians': i. e. the Armenians treated the Romans as if they had surrendered in consequence of an overwhelming defeat. **Simulacrum** is an appropriate word, because the actions of the Armenians gave the appearance of defeat on the part of the Romans, and it was an 'empty' semblance because no battle had been fought. For 'usurpare' cf. its use with 'expugnatio,' ch. 6, 7, and with 'consalutatio,' ch. 16, 5.

**§ 3. captiva** = 'capta,' 'formerly taken as booty.' Cf. 'captivum ebur,' Ilor. *Ep* ii 1, 193.



**adgnoscentes**, 'recognizing as their own.'

§ 4. **retenta**, 'were detained' by the enemy.

§ 5. **caesorum**: referring to those killed in the operations described in ch. 11, 1.

§ 6. **insidens**: sc. 'rex,' or 'ipse.'

**proximus**: an accusative after this adjective is found in Plautus, Caesar, and Sallust, and is the common classical usage after both 'propius' and 'proxime.'

CH. 16, § 1. **ut horreis**, &c.: they preferred to destroy their store rather than deliver it to the Parthians according to the terms of ch. 14, 5.

**prodiderit**: the subjunctive appears to be an error, as there is no reason for extending the force of 'ut' beyond 'inicerent.' Tacitus here refers to Corbulo's written memoirs, which were also used as material by the elder Pliny (Intr. I 3).

**pabulo attrito**, 'their foraging ground being nearly exhausted.'

**relicturos**: understand 'fuisse' (suggested by 'afuisse' following). Cf. Intr. II 27.

§ 2. **iure iurando**, &c., 'that Paetus gave security by oath before the standards,' i. e. in the 'principia,' where the standards, the effigy of the emperor, and sacrificial altars were kept.

**testificando**: cf. xiii 11, 2.

**litterae** . . . an, 'a despatch, saying whether.'

§ 3. **quae ut**, &c., 'admitting that these statements were made up (by Corbulo) to increase (Paetus') disgrace, what follows may be taken as established, that. . . .' The agreement described in § 2 is quite credible, so far as the subsequent actions of the Romans go, though Paetus ignores any such obligation in ch. 17, 1.

**quadraginta**: the ordinary day's march of a Roman army was twenty miles at ordinary pace, twenty-four at quick march; anything more than this was unusually fast ('quidquid addideris iam cursus est,' Vegetius).

§ 4. **apud ripam Euphratis**: probably at or near Melitene.

**ut diversitatem**, &c., 'to taunt them by the contrast.'

§ 5. **consalutatio**: so, of the vanquished troops returning from Caudium, 'non reddere salutem, non salutantibus dare responsum' (Livy ix 6, 12).

§ 6. **apud minores**, 'in the lower ranks,' the rank and file.

CH. 17, § 1. **integra**, &c., 'nothing was lost for either.'

§ 2. **Corbulo**: sc. 'ait.'

**quando** = 'quoniam'; so in *Ann.* i 44, 5, &c.

§ 3. **sic quoque**, &c., 'even as it was he must pray for the best of good fortune for his infantry . . . to keep pace with.' Corbulo was afraid the Parthian cavalry would outstrip him and invade Syria before he could get back for its defence.

**alacrem**, &c., 'fresh, and outstripping them by the ease of moving over plains' (or, 'thanks to the easy travelling afforded by the plains').

§ 4. *per*, 'in various quarters in.' *hibernavit*: the winter would be that of 62-63 A. D. Cf. ch. 8, 3.

*detraheret* = 'dirueret.'

§ 5. *diversis*, 'hostilibus.' Cf. xiii 57, 3; xiv 30, 1.

*expostulabat* = 'postulabat.' For infinitive cf. *Intr* II 31.

*sine arbitro*, 'without interference.'

CH. 18, § 1. *arcus*: cf. xiii 41, 5.

*integro adhuc*, 'while the war was still undecided.'

*neque tum*, &c., 'and not even then abandoned, out of regard for appearances, despite knowledge of the truth.' This criticism is unfair, as the Roman authorities were acting in accordance with Pactus' despatches, '*litteras quasi confecto bello*,' ch. 8, 3, and would not get the news of his subsequent failure till the following spring.

§ 2. *dissimulandis*, &c.: dative of purpose, 'to hide his anxiety about foreign affairs.' The imputation of this motive is wholly gratuitous.

*frumentum plebis*: stored for sale at a low price. It was part of the '*cura annonae*' to regulate prices by sale from public stores, and by compensating merchants for selling below market value in times of scarcity (cf. ch. 39, 2). Costs connected with the '*frumentum publicum*' were formerly borne by the '*aerarium*,' especially from the revenues of the senatorial provinces, but under Claudius or Nero were transferred to the '*fiscus*' (*Intr.* III 25).

*quo*, &c., 'to keep up confidence in the abundance of supplies' (by producing an impression that there must be ample stores in reserve).

§ 3. *portu*: Ostia.

*Tiberi subvectas*, 'which had passed up the Tiber' (to the city).

§ 4. *tris*, &c.: Augustus had appointed a similar commission in 6 A. D.

*L. Pisonem*: cf. xiii 28, 3.

*Ducenius Geminus* was '*praefectus urbis*' under Galba.

*Paulinum*: cf. xiii 53, 2.

*vectigalibus publicis*: strictly = the indirect taxes payable to the '*aerarium publicum*,' see xiii 50, 1; but possibly the term is here used in a wider sense and includes the tribute of the senatorial provinces, and in fact the whole revenue of the '*aerarium*.'

*priorum*: this would best apply to Gaius.

*qui*, &c., 'who by their extravagant expenditure had exceeded the proper revenue.'

*se*, &c., 'whereas he annually made a present of sixty million sesterces to the state.' This may refer to the transference of the '*cura annonae*' to the '*fiscus*,' or perhaps Nero meant more generally that the state expenditure came annually to that amount in excess of his revenues from public sources, and that he made up the deficit from his own '*res privata*.'

CH. 19, § 1. *plerique* = '*permulti*.' This chapter deals with a common device for evading by means of temporary adoptions one

of the provisions of the 'lex Papia Poppaea' (so called from the names of the consuls of the year 9 A.D., when it was carried). The law dealt comprehensively with the whole question of marriages and wills, and, with the object of encouraging matrimony, contained various regulations to the disadvantage of the unmarried and childless; thus, in elections, a candidate who had children was to be preferred to one who had none, and, in the matter of wills, the unmarried ('caelibes') could not succeed to property, and married but childless persons ('orbi') could only receive half of what was left them, unless related to the testator within the sixth degree. (The measure failed in its main object, cf. *Ann.* iii 25, 2, and even the ruling authorities set it aside from time to time; thus, 'orbi' in many cases received exemption from disabilities, by obtaining 'ius liberorum' by special favour from the senate and, later, from the Emperor. The disabilities of 'orbitas' and 'caelibatus' were abolished by Constantine.)

**inter patres**, 'among those who were (really) fathers.'

**sortiti**: applied, by zeugma, to 'praeturas' in the general sense of being elected. Election to other magistracies as well as to the praetorship took place in the senate, but the praetorship is specially mentioned here as being the most important, as it was the natural step to the government of a senatorial province—except Asia and Africa, which went to consulars—while the consulship was filled up at the will of the princeps (by his 'nomination') rather than by the free choice of the senate.

§ 2. **magna cum invidia**, 'with loud reproaches.' Cf. 'precibus et invidiae,' xvi 10, 5.

**adeunt**: the subject is missing; the complainants however are evidently real parents who suffered by the fictitious adoptions of their rivals.

**ius naturae**, &c., 'the right they gained by nature . . . as opposed to the fraudulent trick of a short-lived adoption.'

§ 3. **honores**: here='marks of respect' rather than 'the higher magistracies.'

§ 4. **sine**, &c., 'becoming a father without the cares of paternity, and childless without the grief of bereavement, attained what had long been the aspiration of parents.'

§ 5. **in ulla**, &c., 'in anything partaking of the nature of a public office,' or 'in any branch of the public service.'

**hereditatibus**: cf. note on § 1.

CH. 20, § 1. **Cretensis**: Crete (with Cyrene) was a senatorial province, and the senate would try cases too important to be settled by the proconsul on the spot.

**ut solent**: in sense='qualibus obnoxii esse solent.'

**ad iniurias**, &c., 'so uplifted as to oppress their inferiors.'

**penetraverat**, 'had gone to the length of insulting the senate' (in the person of the proconsul).

**grates agerentur**: this was done by a deputation sent to Rome on the motion of a 'concilium sociorum' (cf. ch. 22, 2).

§ 2. **Thrasea**: cf. xiii 49, 1.

**exempla** = 'deeds worthy of being taken as an example,' hence, as here, 'punishments,' 'honourable measures of exemplary retribution.' Cf. xiv 44, 7.

§ 3. **licentia**, 'wickedness,' 'corruption.' For the Cincian law cf. xiii 42, 2.

**Iulias**: passed by Augustus, 18 and 8 B. C.

**Calpurnia**: the 'lex Calpurnia de repetundis,' passed by the tribune L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, in 149 B. C., is remarkable as the first constitution of a 'quaestio publica.' The variation of terms here employed ('rogationem,' 'leges,' 'scita') is only rhetorical: the enactments named were probably all in form 'plébiscita.'

**nam**, &c., 'for the sin precedes its penalty, correction is subsequent to wrong-doing.' A similar sentiment is attributed to Cato in Livy xxxiv 4, 8.

§ 4. **fide**, 'honour' (in dealing with provincials).

**constantia**, 'dignity,' 'self-respect,' the feeling that should keep Romans from courting the praise of their inferiors.

**nobis**, &c., 'while we may be relieved of any idea that the estimation of a man's character depends on anything else than the verdict of his fellow-citizens.'

CH. 21, § 1. **privati**, &c.: referring to the senatorial privilege of travelling on a 'libera legatio.'

**quid**, &c. 'to report what was their impression of the loyalty of various provincials, and the subject-peoples were anxious as to the opinion of individual Romans.'

§ 3. **ostentandi**: as the text stands, the idea of 'custom,' 'habit' must be supplied with this gerund, in the same way that a substantive is supplied with the gerundial genitives in xiii 26, 4 and xv 5, 3, though in these latter cases a neuter adjective in the clause suggests the requisite word. A good correction proposed is that of Madvig, who suggests that 'potentiam' is a corruption of 'potestas sententiam.'

**laus falsa**: on the part of the subjects. **malitia**, **crudelitas**, 'wrong-doing,' 'cruelty,' on the part of the governor.

§ 4. **demeremur**, 'seek to oblige.'

§ 5. **inclinat**, 'declines,' 'deteriorates.'

**aequabilis atque constantius**, 'with more uniformity and consistency.'

§ 6. **repetundarum**: sc. 'quaestionis.'

**ambitio**, 'intrigue to win favour.'

CH. 22, § 1. **perfici**: cf. xiv 49, 1 and xiii 49, 2.

**abnuentibus . . . relatum**: sc. 'esse.' 'Abnuere' has the force of 'negare.' (It is possible also that 'relatum' is a substantive; cf. Intr. II 51 a.) The consuls were naturally anxious to consult the princes on this question, as it affected his 'legati' as well as senatorial governors.

§ 2. **sanxere**, &c.: Augustus had in II A. D. forbidden such votes of thanks to be passed by provincials till sixty days had elapsed

from the governor's retirement. The practice does not appear to have been ended by Nero's edict.

**concilium sociorum**: the 'diet' of the province, which met annually, known also as 'commune' and τὸ κοινόν.

**pro praetoribus** = the 'legati Augusti propraetore,' in the Caesarian provinces.

**pro consulibus**: the proper title of all governors of senatorial provinces, whether of praetorian or consular rank.

§ 3. **gymnasium**: see xiv 47, 3.

§ 4. **motu terrae**, &c.: this earthquake took place sixteen years before the eruption which destroyed the town.

**Cossorum**: possibly she was a daughter of the consul of 60 A. D., xiv 20, 1.

**capta est**: the word is appropriate, as in the ritual of her dedication the pontifex maximus took the new vestal by the hand, with the words 'te (Cornelia), capio.' A vestal virgin was presented by her father for the service of Vesta between the age of six and ten, and might retire and marry after thirty years. The vestals usually however continued in their office till death.

CH. 23, § 1. **Memmio Regulo**: son of the person mentioned xiv 47, §§ 1, 2.

**Verginius Rufus** was prominent in the events at the end of Nero's reign, when he was governor of Upper Germany. He received a second consulship from Vitellius, and a third from Nerva, in 97 A. D., when he died, and was succeeded by Tacitus, who spoke his 'laudatio.'

**Augustam**: she was called 'Claudia Augusta.'

**dato et Poppaeae**, &c.: the title of 'Augusta,' conferred on Livia after Augustus' death according to his will, was taken by Agrippina in the lifetime of Claudius, and, from Domitian onwards, was usually borne by emperors' wives.

§ 2. **Antium**: see xiv 3, 1.

§ 3. **supplicationes**: i.e. a general thanksgiving to all the gods, not to be taken with 'Fecunditati.'

**ad exemplar**, &c.: i.e. following the pattern of the quinquennial festival instituted by Augustus at Nicopolis in commemoration of the battle of Actium.

**Fortunarum**: the deity Fortune was specially worshipped at Antium in the form of two sister goddesses, thought to represent the fortune of war and peace respectively.

**apud Bovillas**: Bovillae was situated on the Appian Way about ten miles from Rome. The cult of the 'gens Julia' was maintained here because the town claimed to be a daughter-city of Alba Longa, which referred its origin to Iulus the founder of that 'gens.'

§ 4. **divae**: dative, 'to the (now) divine (infant).' 'And again rose the voice of flattery, voting her the honour of deification,' &c.

**pulvinar**: a sacred couch on which her statue would be laid when a 'lectisternium' was celebrated.

## TACITUS ANNALS: NOTES

§ 5. *inmodicus*: with genitive of reference; so '*voluptatum modicus*,' ii 73, 3 (Intr. II 24 c).

*effuso*, 'poured out to Antium' to offer congratulations.

*prohibitum*, 'forbidden to present himself.' This occurred again, xvi 24, 1, and amounted practically to '*renuntiatio amicitiae*,' preliminary to a sentence of banishment or execution.

§ 6. *iactaverit*, &c.: Nero vaunted this as a proof of clemency; the answer of Seneca implied that the friendship of Thræsea was worth more to Nero than Nero's to him.

*egregiis viris*: Thræsea and Seneca.

CH. 24, § 1. *legati Parthorum*: cf. ch. 14, 5.

*mandata*, 'message.'

*super* = 'de,' Intr. II 46.

*quamvis potentium*, 'however powerful.'

§ 2. *satis*, &c., 'his strength had been sufficiently demonstrated; proof had also been given of his clemency.'

§ 3. *recusaturum*: sc. '*fuisse*' (Intr. II 27).

*sacerdotii religione*: Pliny says he was a Magian and that it was one of his tenets not to pollute the sea by travelling upon it (cf. the reluctance of Brahmins to cross the 'black water').

*iturum*, &c.: i.e. he would go to some neighbouring camp, in Cappadocia or Syria, and there do homage to the eagles and effigy of the 'princes' in the principia. Cf. ch. 29, 5.

*regnum auspicaretur*, 'duly solemnize his accession to the throne.' Cf. '*auspiciis*' xiii 6, 5.

CH. 25, § 1. *Paetus diversa . . . scribebat*, 'letters were coming from Paetus to an opposite effect.'

*integris*, 'undecided.'

§ 2. *barbarum*: cf. xiv 39, 1.

*primores civitatis* = those forming his usual privy council.

§ 4. *inriti*, 'without effecting their purpose,' because Nero refused the modified offer which they brought, ch. 24, 3.

§ 5. *executio*: for Med. '*excutio*.' The civil government is meant.

*C. Cestio*: Med. '*citio*.' C. Cestius Gallus is known from other sources as legatus of Syria in 65 A. D.

*Marius Celsus* is frequently mentioned in the *Histories* as true to Galba, and afterwards to Otho, and as allowed nevertheless by Vitellius to hold a consulship to which he had been designated.

§ 6. *tetrarchis*: this word had by now lost its original etymological significance, and was used generally for such oriental princes as were below the dignity of βασιλεῖς.

*regibus*: cf. xiii 7.

*praefectis*: officers commanding 'cohortes' or 'alae' in the lesser provinces.

*procuratoribus*: governors of minor provinces.

*praetorum*: used generally for provincial governors.

*obsequi*: Intr. II 31.

*Cn. Pompeio*: by the '*lex Gabinia*,' 67 B. C. The parallel is

not exact, as Pompeius' power under this law was '*imperium aequum* in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus usque ad quinquagesimum miliarium a mari.' The powers conferred upon him by the '*lex Manilia*,' giving him the command against Mithridates, would be a more apt comparison.

§ 7. *ignoscere*, &c., 'that he pardoned him at once, lest one so quick to take fright might fall ill, were his anxiety protracted.'

CH. 26, § 1. *quarta et duodecima*: blockaded under Pactus, ch. 10, 1.

*sextam ac tertiam*: cf. ch. 6, 5. Mention is not made of the 10th legion, which presumably was left in Syria.

*exercitum*: this participle which in earlier classic usage = 'harassed,' is used by Tacitus in the sense of '*exercitatus*,' 'practised.' The sixth and third legions had served with Corbulo in his previous campaigns, xiii 38, 6 and 40, 3.

§ 2. *quintam*: cf. chs. 6, 5 and 9, 2.

*quintadecumanos*: ch. 25, 5. *recens*, adverb, so ch. 6, 5.

*vexilla delectorum*, 'detachments of picked troops.' Similarly ii 78, 3 '*vexillum tironum*.' (Not = '*veterani sub vexillo*,' 'reservists.') Illyricum is taken in a wide sense as including Pannonia as well as Delmatia.

*quodque*, &c., 'and what he had of auxiliary horse and foot,' cf. xiii 35, 4. (For omission of '*fuit*,' Intr. II 27.)

*regum*: ch. xxv, 6.

*Melitene* was a town in Cappadocia near the Euphrates, important as a station commanding the passage of that river, and made in consequence the headquarters of the 12th legion, in 70 A.D.; now '*Malatia*.'

§ 3. *lustratum*: by sacrifice of pig, sheep, and ox ('*suovetaurilia*'), as the '*piaculum Marti*.'

*imperatoris* = Nero's. (The campaign would be '*ductu Corbulonis, auspiciis Caesaris*.')

*declinans*, 'turning off upon,' 'attributing.'

*multa auctoritate*, &c.: i.e. he convinced his hearers by his personality as a successful general, as another might by eloquent reasoning.

CH. 27, § 1. *Lucullo*: in 69 B.C. Lucullus crossed the Euphrates and marched through Sophene and over Mount Taurus, and thence, after crossing the Tigris, to Tigranocerta.

*penetratum*: the phrase is composed on the analogy of '*pergere iter*.'

*vetustas*, 'the lapse of time,' 132 years.

*nec enim*: introducing the substance of Corbulo's message.

*extremo*, 'an internecine conflict.'

§ 2. *documento*, 'so as to be a lesson' (Intr. II 12).

§ 3. *scire*: understand 'se' (Intr. II 3).

§ 4. *megistanas*, 'magnates,' from the Persian '*mehestan*,' containing the same root as *μέγας*, 'magnus': called also '*primores gentium*,' ch. 1, 2.



**defecerant**: so, in ch. 13, 4, Armenia is spoken of as a vassal state of the Roman empire.

CH. 28, § 1. **non infensum**, &c., 'was not regarded with animosity nor with the hatred of an enemy.'

**atrox in summam**, 'unconciliatory as to the general issue.'

**praefecturis**, 'districts,' of Armenia (cf. xiii 37, 2), which Corbulo had invaded; see § 4 of preceding chapter.

§ 2. **tempus propinquum**: sc. 'delectum est,' supplied from below.

**locus**: Rhandeia, cf. note on ch. 10, 1.

§ 3. **neque**, &c., 'nor was he distressed about the disgrace of Pactus'; in fact he took the opportunity to intensify it by sending Pactus' son to clear away the tokens of the disaster.

**ducere**: infin. after 'imperavit'; cf. Intr. II 31.

§ 4. **Tiberius Alexander**: an Alexandrine Jew who renounced Judaism and became procurator of Judaea 46 A. D.; he was praefect of Egypt 67-70 A. D., and gave valuable help to Vespasian, and in consequence was appointed lieutenant-general of the forces under Titus.

**inlustris eques**: this, as opposed to 'eques modicus,' is the term for a person of senatorial census preferring to remain within the equestrian rank, for the sake of various honourable and profitable appointments from which senators were debarred.

**minister bello**, 'a war commissary,' to manage matters of finance and provision.

**Vinicianus**: son of a man who formed an unsuccessful conspiracy against Claudius, and in consequence committed suicide in 42 A. D.

**nondum senatoria aetate**: i. e. not yet twenty-five. Hence his title 'pro legato,' since the post of 'legatus legionis' could properly be held only by senators, usually of praetorian rank. Dio mentions that Vinicianus was afterwards sent by Corbulo to escort Tiridates to Rome.

§ 5. **uterque**: the use of this pronoun with plural predicate, on the analogy of collectives, is not found in Cicero, and rarely in classical prose.

**miscuere**: used as a variation for the more usual 'iunxere.'

CH. 29, § 1. **praecipitibus**, 'desperate counsels.'

§ 2. **temperanter**, 'modestly.'

**non adversis**, &c., 'though the Parthians had met with no reverse.'

§ 3. **apud effigiem Caesaris**: cf. ch. 24, 3.

**insigne regium**: the 'diadema,' cf. § 6.

**osculo**: the usual method of salutation between oriental potentates, adopted by Alexander, and followed also by the Romans in the East, cf. ch. 31, 1.

§ 4. **insignibus patriis**, 'with their national decorations.' This, with 'fulgentibus aquilis' and also 'signis' and 'simulacris' may be regarded as an extension of the use of the ablative of accompani-



ment, common in such adverbial expressions as 'magna celeritate.' See Intr. II 22 a.

**simulacris**, &c., 'with images of the gods, so as to represent (i.e. give the place the sanctity of) a temple.'

§ 6. **capiti**: dative on the analogy of that with 'adimere,' 'abstrahere,' 'deripere' (xiii 57, 7), common with verbs meaning 'take away.'

**exercituum ... caedes aut obsidio**, 'caedes,' ch. II, I, 'obsidio,' ch. 13.

§ 7. **ostentui**, &c., 'a spectacle for the world to gaze on' (Intr. II 12).

**quanto**, &c., 'how little short of being a captive!'

CH. 30, § 1. **gloriae**: the glorification which Tiridates' homage had brought him.

**quotiens ... adverterat**: the pluperfect in a subordinate clause expressing repeated action: cf. ch. 10, 2 'ubi ... firmatus erat' and ch. 38, 6 'si ... evaserant.'

**ut**, 'as for instance.'

**initia vigiliarum**: the beginning of each of the four watches into which the night was divided was proclaimed with the 'bucina,' a regulation which the 'centurio primipilus' would see carried out and would then report to the general.

**augurale**: there was on the right of the general's tent, facing the 'via principalis,' a spot marked off as a 'templum' for taking 'auspicia,' known as 'auguratorium,' and 'augurale' may be a synonym for this. Quintilian however mentions 'augurale' as equivalent to the general's tent, the 'praetorium' itself, and it may quite well be so taken here.

**aram ... accendi**: (1) 'fire was kindled on the altar,' cf. the expression 'adolere aras,' xiii 30, 3; or (2) 'the altar' (in this case a small pyre of combustible materials) 'was set on fire.'

**in maius attollens**, 'heightening the importance of,' 'proudly extolling.'

**adfecit**: supply 'eum' from 'rege' above. (For similar transitions from ablative absolute cf. xiv 10, 1; xvi 14, 6.) 'He impressed him with awe at the antiquity of our customs.' Parthia was a comparatively modern empire as contrasted with Rome; cf. note on xiii 9, 2.

§ 2. **spatium**: sc. 'temporis.'

CH. 31, § 1. **propriis**, 'special,' as distinct from the joint embassy of ch. 27, 1.

**imaginem**, 'be made to submit to any tokens of servility.'

**ferrum**: the 'acinaces,' always worn by Parthians. Dio states that when Tiridates was told to deliver it up before presentation to Nero, he refused and nailed it to the scabbard.

**complexu** = 'osculo,' the salutation due to him as a king; cf. ch. 29, 3.

**foribusve**, &c., 'or be kept waiting at their doors' (for an audience), like an inferior.

§ 2. *externae superbiae*, 'barbaric pomp' (dative after 'sueti').  
*vis*, 'reality.' *tramittuntur*, 'are passed over,' 'disregarded.'  
 With this sentence closes the account of Eastern affairs in the extant books of the *Annals*.

CH. 32, § 1. *nationes Alpium maritimarum*: hitherto (with the exception of the tribes close to the coast) constituting a small province under an equestrian procurator, formed by Augustus, 14 B. C.

*ius Latii*: conferring on its possessors 'commercium,' i. e. the right of commercial dealing with Roman citizens under Roman civil law, and also the privilege of obtaining full Roman citizenship by holding a magistracy in their own town; cf. the phrase in Pliny, 'per Latium in civitatem venire.'

§ 2. *equitum*, &c.: the *lex Roscia*, 67 B. C., which reserved for the 'equites' the 'quattuordecim ordines' next above the orchestra (where the senators sat), only applied to the theatre. It appears that special seats in the Circus were reserved for the senate under Claudius, and since 4 A. D. equites had also had better seats than the populace as a matter of custom; the arrangement was now made law for the first time.

§ 3. *plures*, 'more than before.' Hitherto Tacitus has only recorded the appearance of knights in the arena, and of women and members of the great senatorial families on the pantomimic stage, xiv, chs. 14 and 15; but this passage gives support to the statements of Dio and Suetonius, who mention senators, knights, and women appearing in the amphitheatre as early as 59 A. D.

*per arenam*: i. e. by their appearance in it.

CH. 33, § 1. *M. Licinio*: his father was consul in 27 A. D.; his full name was M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, and he was descended through his mother from Pompeius.

*promiscas*, 'open to the public'; cf. xiv 14, 4.

*Iuvenalibus*: cf. xiv 15, 1, whence also it appears that this festival was held in a private theatre.

*parum celebres*, 'not sufficiently well attended.'

*angustos*, &c., '(a) narrow (sphere) for so grand a voice.' Nero's courtiers spoke of his '*caelestis vox*' (xvi 22, 1), but tradition makes it feeble and hoarse, '*exiguæ vocis et fuscae*' (Suetonius), *βραχὺ καὶ μέλαν φώνημα* (Dio).

§ 2. *Romæ*: for his appearance there see xvi 4.

*quasi*, 'as being': cf. Intr. II 50. Neapolis was a colony from Cumæ, which had itself been colonized from Chalcis, and hence Greek institutions were maintained there.

*coronas*: those of the great Greek games.

*civium*: i. e. the Romans, in contrast with the Neapolitans, who were 'oppidani'; cf. § 3.

§ 3. *per honorem*, &c., 'by way of respect or service of various kinds.' (For this use of 'honor' cf. ch. 19, 3.)

*militum*: praetorians.

CH. 34, § 1. **triste . . . providum**: the neuter adjectives are used substantivally; cf. Intr. II 2 b. The meaning of 'providum' is made clear by 'secundis numinibus,' 'a providential circumstance, rather, due to the favour of heaven.'

§ 2. **conpositos**, 'carefully elaborated.'

**grates**: supply 'agens' from 'celebrans,' which is applied here by zeugma to 'grates' as well as to 'fortunam'; cf. xiii 35, 7.

**traiectus**: substantive, 'a place of crossing.'

**Beneventum**: on the Appian way, by which he was journeying to Brundisium. It was Vatinius' birthplace.

§ 3. **ostenta**, 'monstrosities.'

**sutrinae tabernae**: part of his trade appears to have been the manufacture of cheap drinking cups (or else his name was given to cups in common use, as boots and bags have been called after Wellington and Gladstone); cf. Juv. v 46 'tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem | siccabis calicem.'

**in contumelias**, 'as a butt for jests'; 'scurrae,' often selected, like the jesters in mediaeval times, for some physical deformity, were a regular institution of the Roman imperial court.

CH. 35, § 1. **frequentanti**: so also with accusative, xiv 4, 1.

§ 2. **Silanus**: his full name was Decimus Junius Torquatus Silanus; he was brother of the Silanus killed in the first year of Nero's reign (xiii 1), and had been consul in 53 A.D., the year of Nero's marriage with Octavia.

**abavum**: Silanus was grandson of Julia the grand-daughter of Augustus. Intr. VI (1) A.

**ferebat**, 'displayed,' 'claimed.'

§ 3. **prodigum**, 'that he had wasted his fortune.'

**quin, &c.**: corrected from Med. 'qui ne Innobiles,' which some have altered into 'quin eum nobiles'; however as the appointments mentioned were still even in the imperial household only held by 'liberti,' it is unlikely that 'nobiles' would have accepted such posts from a private citizen. The charge against Silanus is that he dared to give persons in his household the titles borne by the chief freedmen of Caesar.

**a libellis**: the freedman who dealt with memorials, reports, and petitions made to the Emperor.

**nomina, &c.**, 'titles of the highest (i.e. imperial) duties, and a preparation for them' (i.e. the prelude to an attempt to seize the principate).

§ 4. **cum damnatio instaret**: for the reasons for thus anticipating a sentence by suicide cf. xiii 30, 2.

**interscidit**: very rare, but natural as a variant for 'abscindere,' the more regular verb in this phrase; cf. ch. 69, 3, and xvi 11, 4.

§ 5. **ex more**: cf. Nero's letter about Antistius, xiv 49, 4.

**iudicis**: as Nero applies this term to himself, Silanus had probably been tried before him 'intra cubiculum' (for a similar

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case cf. xiii 23); if before the Senate, Nero could have modified the sentence by his tribunician power.

CH. 36, § 1. *omissa* . . . *Achaia*: his intention to go there is mentioned in ch. 33: he actually went there towards the end of 66 A. D. See Appendix to bk. xvi.

*provincias*, &c., 'contemplating in his inmost thoughts (a visit to) the provinces of the East.' 'Imaginatio' is used only here in Tacitus, and is not found earlier than Pliny (*N. H.*); Tacitus however uses 'imago,' like Ovid's 'illius tristissima noctis imago,' and has a verb 'imaginari' in ch. 69, 4 of this book.

§ 2. *super* = 'de,' 'on the subject of' (cf. ch. 5, 5), i. e. to pray for a safe journey.

§ 3. *Vestae templum*: near the Forum. He probably went there to bid farewell to the Penates of Rome.

*cunctas* . . . *curas*, 'all his interests.'

*dietitans*, 'giving out,' in another edict.

§ 4. *fortuita*, 'chance misfortunes.'

§ 5. *ut*, &c., 'just as in a man's family ties his nearest and dearest counted for most.'

§ 6. *volentia* = 'quae volebant,' 'welcome.' (So 'volentia plebi,' Sall. *H.* 4, 31.)

*voluptatum*, &c.: i. e. they were anxious that the Emperor should be there to attend to their requirements, 'panem et Circenses.'

§ 7. *in incerto*, &c., 'were doubtful whether he was to be regarded as more terrible when far off or when near at hand.'

CH. 37, § 1. *nihil*, &c., 'that he enjoyed no place so much as Rome.'

§ 2. *et celeberrimae*, &c., 'most notorious for its excesses and the talk caused thereby was the feast,' &c.

§ 3. *stagno Agrippae*: thought to have been in a part of the Campus Martius called the 'Campus Agrippae,' lying at the foot of the Quirinal or of the Pincian.

*navium aliarum tractu* for 'navibus aliis trahentibus.' Cf. Intr. II 57.

§ 5. *diversis*: here = 'distant,' after Vergil (*Aen.* iii 4).

*abusque*: cf. xiii 47, 2.

CH. 38, § 1. *incertum*: Tacitus is the only author known to us who mentions any doubt as to Nero's guilt. Suetonius gives as Nero's motive for the crime the desire to rebuild Rome on a grand scale, and Dio charges him with firing Rome in the craze for realizing the scene that was witnessed at the fall of Troy. (For 'incertum' see Intr. II 59.)

*omnibus*: the most famous was the conflagration caused by the Gauls after the battle of the Allia, 390 B. C.

§ 2. *in ea parte*: the north-eastern corner of the Circus.

*tabernas*: standing in a colonnade running round the outer face of the Circus.

*mercimonium*: an archaic word.

**citus**: participle, 'impelled,' 'fanned.'

§ 3. **domus**, 'palaces,' 'mansions,' with substantial boundary walls ('munimenta'), opposed to 'insulae,' ch. 41, 1. Temples also would have outer walls ('muri') round the precinct in which the actual building stood.

**quid**: Intr. II 3 b.

§ 4. **impetu**: modal, 'impetuously,' 'with fury.' (Intr. II 17.)

**plana**: governed by 'pervagatum.'

**populando**: cf. xiii 47, 1 'interpretando,' and xiv 31, 5 'servos appellando.' (Intr. II 22 b.)

**obnoxia**, 'from the fact that the city lay at its mercy owing to the narrowness of the streets, which bent this way and that.' (urbe, ablative absolute; **itineribus**, ablative of cause.)

**enormibus**, 'built on no regular plan.' In Quintilian, 'enormis toga' = a badly cut toga.

**vicis** = the groups of houses forming streets.

§ 5. **ad hoc**, 'besides.'

**fessa aetate**, &c.: the reading in Med. is 'fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae aetas,' which as it stands is doubtless a corruption of what Tacitus wrote. In the text adopted, 'aetas' is cut out, as a gloss, and the remaining four words are taken as qualifying 'feminarum,' 'both those of feeble age and those of helpless childhood.' Others remove 'aetate,' regarding 'fessa' as nominative and keeping 'aetas'; then the words form another subject to the verb at the end of the sentence, 'advanced age or helpless childhood'; for 'aetas' in collective sense cf. xiii 54, 2.

§ 6. **lateribus aut fronte**: local ablative; Intr. II 14.

**si . . . evaserant**: pluperfect in subordinate clause expressing frequent occurrence; cf. ch. 10, 4.

§ 7. **ambigui**, 'uncertain.'

**diurni**, &c., 'and even (the means of earning) their daily bread'; supplying this idea from 'fortunis.' (Intr. II 25.)

§ 8. **esse sibi auctorem**, 'that they had orders.' Tacitus leaves it open whether this was an invention or not. Suetonius states positively that several consulars found slaves of Nero spreading the flames, and dared not check them.

CH. 39, § 1. **Antii**: cf. xiv 4, 2.

**domui**, &c.: a building ('domus transitoria,' Suet.) carried from the Palatium to the gardens of Maecenas (bequeathed by him to Augustus) on the Esquiline, and rebuilt as the 'domus aurea,' ch. 42, 1.

**continuaverat**, 'had connected together.'

**haurirentur**: so 'Pompei theatrum igne haustum,' iii 74, 4.

§ 2. **monumenta Agrippae**: such as the 'septa' in which the tribes voted, the 'diribitorium' in which the votes were counted, the 'Thermae,' the 'porticus Vipsania,' and his family tomb, all of which were constructed by Agrippa in the Campus Martius.

**hortos**: on the Vatican, xiv 14, 4.

**quin etiam**: second in its clause by anastrophe, Intr. II 55 b.

**utensilia**, 'necessaries,' 'food.'

**pretium frumenti:** the price here quoted (=about 6*d.*), which evidently was much below the average, was the regular price of the 'modius' (about a peck) in the time of Cicero. Pliny (*N. H.*) gives forty asses as the average price of a 'modius' of flour or meal (equivalent to two 'modii' of corn), though not of the finest quality.

§ 3. **domesticam scaenam:** cf. ch. 33, 1.

**cecinnisse, &c.:** what he sang probably formed part of his 'Troica.'

CH. 40, § 1. **sexto:** a votive inscription has the words 'urbs per novem dies arsit,' from which it may be taken that the second outbreak of § 2 lasted three days.

**prorutis,** 'having been demolished.'

**ut, &c.,** 'so that to its continued raging there might be opposed a level space and, so to speak, open sky,' there being no more high buildings for the fire to feed on.

§ 2. **necdum:** the text here is corrected from Med. 'necdum p' (=post) 'metus aut rediebat lebis rursum.'

§ 3. **plus infamiae habuit,** 'caused greater scandal,' because people thought Tigellinus had caused this second outbreak to please Nero. 'Aemiliana' appears to be the name of a poor quarter of Rome.

§ 4. **tres solo tenus deiectae:** these were probably the districts including the Palatine, the Circus, and the Subura. It seems that many temples and large buildings escaped, or were capable of speedy restoration, even in districts where the private houses were totally destroyed. The Circus itself was used in the following year, and the 'aedes Cereris' near it is spoken of at the same date, ch. 53, 1 and 4. On the Palatine the temple of Apo'lo, where the Sibylline books were kept (ch. 44, 1), and the library seem to have been preserved.

CH. 41, § 1. **domuum:** palaces or mansions of the rich. **insularum** = blocks of buildings let out in flats or single rooms to the poorer classes.

**fuerit:** potential subjunctive of modest assertion. (Intr. II 39.)

**vetustissima religione:** ablative of quality; supply 'templa.'

**quod . . . Lunae:** this temple was on the Aventine, on the part nearest to the Circus, and contained some of the bronze statues brought from Corinth by Mummius.

**ara:** situated near the northern end or 'carceres' of the Circus, and known as 'Ara Maxima.' Probably it was originally erected to the true Italian Hercules, the spirit presiding over the homestead and property, the god of good faith, 'dius fidius,' but came to be attributed to a Greek worship instituted by Evander to commemorate the slaying of Cacus, the stealer of the oxen of Geryon. (Verg. *Aen.* viii 179 and following; Ovid, *Fast.* i 543 and following.)

**Statoris:** for the story of Romulus' vow to Jupiter, if he would 'stay' the flight of the Romans from the Sabines, see Livy i 12, 6. The temple was on the Palatine, close to the 'summa sacra via.'

**Numae regia et delubrum Vestae:** for the site of the latter cf. ch. 36, 3. The two buildings were close together, and are often mentioned in association; cf. Ovid, *Tr.* iii 1, 29 'hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem: hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.' The 'regia,' long the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, was given over to the vestals by Augustus.

**cum Penatibus:** images believed to have been brought, with the 'Palladium,' from Troy by Aeneas; preserved in the 'Penetralia Vestae.' (Cf. the lines from Ovid above.)

§ 2. **opes:** precious objects, dedicated by vow or otherwise.

**decora, &c.,** 'masterpieces of Greek art,' like the Corinthian bronzes.

**monumenta ingeniorum,** 'records of genius' (works of great authors): 'incorrupta,' free from interpolation or falsification. The words seem to refer to losses sustained by the Palatine library, which however was not totally destroyed till 363 A. D.

§ 3. **XIIII Kal. Sext.:** July 19, the day following the 'dies Aliensis.'

§ 4. **totidem annos, &c.:** the space of time would be 454 years (reckoned inclusively) = 418 years + 418 months + 418 days.

CH. 42, § 1. **usus est,** 'profited by,' i.e. he appropriated what he wanted of the vacant space caused by the fire; hence his palace is called 'spoliis civium exstructa domus,' ch. 52, 2. So Martial, 'abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.'

**domum:** the 'domus aurea' of Suetonius, who mentions the colossal statue of Nero, 120 feet high, at its vestibule, and adds the remark of Nero, 'se quasi hominem tandem habitare coepisse.' The palace must have occupied the greater portion of the Palatine and Esquiline and of the intermediate valley, the pleasure grounds stretching away towards the 'agger Servii.' Presumably a thoroughfare was left through the grounds so as not to cut off the Via Sacra. Part of the site of the palace was subsequently occupied by the Flavian amphitheatre (the 'Coliseum') constructed under Vespasian and Titus, and by the baths of Titus.

**ingenium et audacia:** Intr. II 54.

**inludere,** 'to fool away the resources of an emperor.'

§ 2. **Averno:** it seems that there existed a passage to this lake through the Lucrine from the bay of Baiae. (The Lucrine lake had been connected with the sea and deepened for a naval basin by Agrippa, under Augustus.)

**depressuros,** 'that they would dig out.'

**squalenti litore,** 'along the barren shore.'

§ 3. **neque enim:** giving the reason for the folly of the attempt.

**gignendis:** to give water to feed the canal (dative of Purpose).

**nec satis causae:** the object suggested was to facilitate the corn transport by providing a safe passage from the principal Campanian harbours (for the dangers of this coast cf. ch. 46, 3), as well as to drain the Pomptine marshes into the canal.

CH. 43, § 1. **quae domui supererant,** 'such parts of the city as

the palace left space for,' an ironical reference to the huge size of the 'domus aurea' described in the last ch., in the same vein as a contemporary epigram quoted by Suetonius, 'Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites, | si non et Veios occupet illa domus,' and Martial's 'Unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.'

**dimensis**, &c., 'with rows of streets regularly measured out.'

**cohibita**: the limit fixed is not known. The height of buildings in Rome generally seems nevertheless to have still been regarded as excessive; cf. Juv. iii 269. Under Trajan a limit of sixty feet was fixed. (Such regulations would presumably apply only to new buildings.)

**areis**: court-yards inside the 'insulae,' which would help to prevent the spread of fire from one portion to another.

§ 2. **purgatas areas**, 'the building-sites, cleared of rubbish.' ('Sua pecunia' applies to 'purgatas' as well as to 'exstructurum.') With 'exstructurum' and 'traditurum,' 'se' is to be understood.

§ 3. **intra quod**: to be taken with the ablative absolute **effectis**; 'a time within which they must finish the mansions or blocks of buildings to claim the grant.' 'Cf. 'unde hausta,' &c., ch. 44, I.

§ 4. **ruderi**: here = 'rubbish,' 'débris.'

**aedificiaque**, &c., 'and that the buildings themselves should in certain specified parts' (probably the foundations and supports to the different floors), 'avoiding timber, be strongly constructed out of Gabine or Alban stone.'

**aqua**: that flowing into Rome by the aqueducts.

**custodes**, 'keepers,' 'conservators.' The force of 'destinabat' extending over the whole passage, 'custodes' may be (1) direct object, co-ordinated with the subjunctive clause 'et... haberet,' as 'paludes' above is co-ordinated with the subjunctive clause immediately following it (cf. Intr. II 64 g); or (2) nominative, 'essent' having been lost from the MS. in copying or boldly omitted by Tacitus himself.

**communione parietum**: abstract for concrete = 'communibus parietibus' (cf. 'libidines principis' = 'principem libidinosum,' xiii 22, 3 and Intr. II 57).

**quaeque**: sc. 'aedificia.' Common walls had always been forbidden; the Twelve Tables enjoined a space of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet round each 'domus' or 'insula' ('ambitus parietum sestertius pes esto').

§ 5. **ex utilitate accepta**, 'approved of as practically advantageous.'

**vapore**, 'heat.' Cf. xiv 64, 3.

CH. 44, § 1. **dis**, 'for the gods,' i.e. to win their favour; cf. 'deum placamentis' below.

**Sibyllae libri**: kept in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

**Voaleano**, &c.: he was naturally propitiated as being the fire-god. The temple of Ceres and Proserpina was near the spot where the fire had broken out, but the supplication to them may well have rested on some more general reason, as at other times the Sibylline



books ordered special sacrifices to them to expiate prodigies, e. g. Livy xxxvi 37, 4.

**apud proximum mare** : i. e. at Ostia, where invocation was made and whence lustral water was brought to wash her 'cella' and statue in the Capitol.

**sellisternia** : these answer in the case of goddesses to the 'lectisternia' in honour of gods, the distinction being founded on the Roman custom, by which women sat on 'sellae' at dinner, while men reclined on couches. (The word is very rare, 'lectisternium' being commonly used for this mode of honouring goddesses as well as gods.)

**pervigilia** : nightly festivals (*παιρνυχίδες*) were an ancient custom in Greece, but a late introduction at Rome, though common under the Empire.

§ 2. **quin . . . crederetur**, 'so that it was not believed,' epexegetic to 'infamia decedebat.' Freely, 'could the scandal be removed by securing disbelief that the fire had been commanded.'

§ 3. **subdidit** : used of fraudulent substitution, or false suggestion; cf. xiv 40, 2 'subdidit testamentum.' This expression, and the words 'forte, an dolo principis' ch. 38, 1, show that Tacitus did not consider the Christians really guilty of the fire.

**quaesitissimis**, &c., 'punished with a refinement of cruelty.'

**per flagitia**, 'by reason of their abominations.' So the younger Pliny, writing from his province to Trajan about the Christians, speaks of 'flagitia cohaerentia nomini.' Crimes such as infanticide, cannibalism, and incest were attributed by the pagan world to the early Christians.

**Christianos** : the term is said to have originated at Antioch, Acts xi 26. The formation is in accordance with silver Latin usage, cf. 'Augustiani' from 'Augustus,' xiv 15, 8, but may equally well be attributed to the Greek of the Asiatics of that time.

§ 4. **Christus** : given by Tacitus, and also by Pliny (in the letter mentioned above) as a proper name, probably the only name of our Lord known to them, and here of course appropriate as explaining 'Christianos.' This passage is the earliest record of the Crucifixion in any non-Christian writer.

**Pontium Pilatum** : not mentioned elsewhere by any Roman historian. Josephus says he was procurator of Judaea, 27-37 A. D., and was recalled by Vitellius, legatus of Syria.

**superstitio** : any foreign religion, not Greek, would be so termed. **exitibilis** = 'pernicious,' because of the 'flagitia' supposed to be involved in it : so Christianity is called by the younger Pliny 'superstitio prava immodica,' and by Suetonius 'malefica.'

**quo**, &c., 'into which pour all the horrible and foul rites from every land and there find a following.' The reference is to foreign orgies such as those of Isis.

§ 5. **igitur** : returning to the main subject.

**qui fatebantur**, 'who admitted (their Christianity)'; not of course that they had caused the fire.

**multitudo ingens**: a rhetorical expression which we have no means of reducing to a numerical estimate.

**odio humani generis**: this impression was probably produced on the pagan world by the Christians' abstinence from social gatherings and popular amusements, in which of course they could not participate without taking part in some act of pagan worship. The ablative may be regarded as following 'in'; cf. 'in hoc scelere convictus,' Cic. *pro Sull.* 30, 83.

§ 6. **tergis**, 'hides.'

**aut . . . atque**: the Med. text is here given as it stands, but is not satisfactory. Either 'interirent' must be supplied after 'adfixi' and 'flammandi,' or these words are attributes to the subject of 'urerentur.' For the burning of criminals in the 'tunica molesta,' a covering of inflammable materials, cf. Juv. i 159 and viii 235.

§ 7. **hortos suos**: on the Vatican. These included a circus; cf. xiv 14, 4.

**curriculo**: cf. xiv 14, 1.

§ 8. **sontes**: guilty of the 'flagitia' practised by Christians, or perhaps guilty of incendiarism in the spectators', not Tacitus' opinion.

**novissima**, &c., 'deserving exemplary punishment of the utmost severity.' So 'exemplum' = 'punishment,' in Caes. *B. G.* i 31, 12, 'omnia exempla cruciatusque edere' (cf. ch. 20, 2).

**tamquam**, 'from the feeling that.' Cf. Intr. II 50.

**utilitate publica**: Intr. II 19.

**in saevitiam unius**, 'to gratify a single man's ferocity.'

CH. 45, § 1. **conferendis pecuniis**: dative, 'for contributions of money'; i. e. for the new palace and the work described in ch. 43, §§ 2-3.

**provinciae**, &c.: in this enumeration we may regard 'provinciae' as = the tribute-paying provinces ('stipendiarii'); 'socii populi' = the 'civitates foederatae'; and 'quae . . . vocantur' = the 'civitates liberae' and those called 'liberae et immunes': or else 'socii populi' and 'liberae civitates' may be taken as a specific description of 'provinciae,' referring respectively to the unprivileged and privileged peoples.

**eversae**, 'were ruined.'

§ 2. **inque eam**, &c., 'to this plundering even the gods must submit.'

**triumphis . . . votis**, 'on occasions of triumphs or vows.' The ablative here is the simple ablative of time; Intr. II 15.

**prospere aut in metu**, 'in success or panic,' as though it were 'rebus prosperis aut in metu.'

§ 3. **simulacra**: Pausanias says that Nero took 500 statues from Delphi alone, and specifies others taken by him from Olympia. Pliny also gives a long list of statues, the finest of which had been pillaged by Nero for the Golden House, and were afterwards given by Vespasian to various temples built by him.

**Acrato**: mentioned also in xvi 23, 1.

**Secundo Carrinate**: probably son of the rhetorician of that name who was exiled by Gaius (Juv. vii 207).

§ 4. **ore tenus** (cf. ch. 6, 6 'nomine tenus'), 'an adept in the verbal profession of Greek philosophy.'

§ 5. **oravisse**: this passage implies that his former request for retirement from the court had not been granted (xiv 52-56) and that he was still one of Nero's 'concilium.'

**aeger nervis**, 'having a muscular complaint' (rheumatism or gout). (**egressus**: the use of the accus. governed transitively by this verb originates with Caesar and Livy.)

§ 6. **dum . . . tolerat**: see Intr II 37.

**persimplici**: ἀπ. εἰρ. Intr. II 51, c.

**agrestibus pomis**, 'fruit growing wild,' as distinct from highly cultivated garden produce: so *Germ.* 23, 1 'cibi simplices, agrestia poma.'

**profluente**, 'from a running stream.'

CH. 46, § 1. **gladiatores**: evidently kept at Praeneste in a training-school. Praeneste = Palaestrina, about twenty-three miles east of Rome.

**adesset**: so Med., but the subjunctive is inexplicable without supplying some such participle as 'ibi locato' or 'existente' to 'praesidio,' 'a military force being stationed there to be a guard on the spot.' Such an ellipse would be exceedingly harsh. An inferior MS. reads 'aderat,' and 'adest' has been suggested for 'adesset.'

**Spartacum**: the war of Spartacus, B. C. 73-71, began with the outbreak of only seventy-four gladiators from the school of Capua.

§ 2. **immota pax**: the war in the East was virtually over.

**classem**: the 'classis praetoria' which had Misenum as its station.

**non exceptis**, 'without making any allowance for.'

§ 3. **Formiis**: on the coast of Latium.

**movere**: intransitive, see Intr. II 29.

**Africo**: 'creber procellis Africus,' Verg. *Aen.* i 86.

**Cumanis**: Cumae lay some six miles north of Cape Misenum.

**passim**: cf. xiv 15, 1.

CH. 47, § 1. **vis**: so in ch. 5, 4, &c.

**semper expiatum**: a rhetorical exaggeration (like 'saepe' in xiii 6, 1), only one other comet having been mentioned by Tacitus before this, viz. that of xiv 22, 1. **sanguine inlustri** applies in this case to the executions following the detection of the conspiracy of Piso, and in the case of the previous comet to the exile and death of Rubellius Plautus and Cornelius Sulla.

§ 2. **abieci in publicum**, 'were publicly exposed.'

**gravidas hostias**: such sacrifices were called 'hordicidia' ('horda' = 'praegnans vacca'), and are mentioned in Ovid as paid to Tellus and to Faunus.

§ 3. **Placentino**: of Placentia, on the Padus, a colony founded 220 B. C. after the conquest of the Insubres.

**esset**: the subjunctive is variously explained (1) as practically

## TACITUS ANNALS: NOTES

sub-oblique, *natus* being regarded as = '*natus esse ferebatur*,' or (2) as a kind of consecutive use, 'born in such a way as to have its head attached,' &c.

*repressum*, 'distorted.'

*aut* = '*et rursus*.' So in *Ann.* vi 51, 3 '*tolerans aut declinans*,' 'bearing, and then avoiding.'

CH. 48, § 1. *coepta*, &c.: the tense of '*dederant*' shows that these participles are to be taken in a past sense, 'after a conspiracy had been set on foot, and had at once gathered strength.' The plot was in existence a considerable time: it began towards the end of 62 A.D. (see xiv 65, 2), and in ch. 50 one of the conspirators is mentioned as on the point of killing Nero amid the confusion caused by the fire of 64 A.D. It was detected and suppressed towards the end of April, 65 A.D.; cf. ch. 53, 1; 70, 1.

*nomina dederant*: cf. xiv 15, 1.

*Pisonem*: the parents of this C. Calpurnius Piso are unknown. He was exiled under Gaius, but returned and held a consulship under Claudius.

§ 3. *tuendis civibus*, 'in defending fellow-citizens,' in the law courts.

*et ignotis quoque*, &c., 'and even towards strangers (was) courteous in speech and demeanour.' Instead of continuing the construction of '*exercebat*' with '*comitatem*,' Tacitus substitutes the ablative of quality, *comi sermone*.

*fortuita*, &c., 'he had also the accidental advantages of a tall frame and a handsome face.'

§ 4. *gravitas*: the term expressing the Roman ideal of a dignified and virtuous character, 'true worth.'

*parsimonia*, 'moderation.'

§ 5. *idque*, &c., 'a fact satisfactory to the majority, who amid the fascinations of vice do not wish the head of the State to be too strict or austere.'

*perseverum*: cf. '*persimplex*,' ch. 45, 6.

CH. 49, § 1. *ipsius*: sc. '*Pisonis*.'

*memoraverim*: potential, cf. '*fuerit*,' ch. 41, 1, and Intr. II 39.

*Lucanus Annaeus*: the author of the *Pharsalia*, only twenty-six years old at the time of his death, according to the Life prefixed to his works. On his father, a brother of Seneca, see xvi 17.

*Plautius Lateranus*: nephew of Plautius Silvanus, the first legatus of Britain.

*intulere*, 'brought into the plot.'

§ 3. *premebat*, &c., 'tried to suppress his fame as a poet and had forbidden him to display his talent' (by publication or recitation).

*vanus adsimulatione*, 'vainglorious in his comparison' (of himself to Lucan). The substantive is rare, but its meaning here may be illustrated by the use of '*adsimulantem*,' ch. 39, 3. Some read '*aemulatione*,' 'foolish in his rivalry,' i.e. out of petty jealousy.

§ 4. *Scaevinus*: see ch. 53, 3. For *Quintianus* see ch. 56, 4; 70, 2.

*contra*, &c., 'affected the lead in this daring crime despite their poor reputation.'

§ 5. *vita*, &c., 'his life was one of lethargic sloth and indolence.'

CH. 50, § 1. *fessis*, &c.: Verg. *Aen.* xi 335 'consulite in medium et rebus succurrite fessis.'

*iaciunt*, 'drop hints.'

§ 2. *ex quibus*: these words extend their force to '*Natalis*' and '*ceteris*' as well as to *Senecio*. *Senecio* and *Natalis* had special reasons for joining, the one as exposed to danger from the conspirators themselves on the ground of friendship to Nero, the other as being intimately connected with the head of the conspiracy; the rest were on an equal footing, hoping to profit by a revolution.

*Senecio*: mentioned in conjunction with *Otho* (xiii 12) as helping Nero in his amour with *Acte*. The other knights here mentioned are previously unknown.

*e praecipua familiaritate* = '*e praecipuis familiaribus*,' abstract for concrete; cf. xiii 42.

§ 3. *militares manus*: in apposition to the names following. '*Manus*' is used figuratively for practical ability or force (cf. xiii 6, 5), 'the soldierly energies of *Gavius Silvanus*,' &c.

*Silvanus*: mentioned on an inscription found at Turin as having served with distinction in the campaign in Britain under *Claudius*.

§ 4. *Faenio Rufo*: cf. xiii 22, 1 and xiv 51, 5.

*vita famaue laudatum*: cf. the similar combination in ch. 37, 2; 'highly spoken of for his life and good reputation' [or possibly, taking the words as a kind of hendiadys, 'highly spoken of in the fame (won by) his (upright) life']. See Intr. II 20.

*in animo*, 'in the emperor's favour.'

*adulterum*: *Faenius Rufus* had become '*praefectus annonae*' through *Agrippina's* influence, xiii 22: a charge of adultery was the obvious one for a man like *Tigellinus* to make under these circumstances.

§ 5. *in partes descendisse*, 'had joined their side' (cf. '*ducem et partes*,' xiii 18, 3).

§ 6. *ardente domo*: cf. ch. 48, 1, note.

§ 7. *hic . . . ibi*, 'in this case . . . in that.'

*exstimulaverant, nisi . . . retinuisset*: cf. note on xiii 2, 1, and Intr. II 38.

CH. 51, § 1. *cunctantibus*: cf. ch. 30, 1 and Intr. II 21, c.

*sciscitata*: the word denotes interested inquiry, hence as the context implies that such interest on her part was unexpected, we should expect '*quam ob causam*' rather than '*quonam modo*'; accordingly the suggested alteration to '*suscitata*' is approved by *Madvig*.

*pertaesa*: this participle is not elsewhere used personally with a genitive.

*primores*, 'officers'; so '*primores castrorum*,' *Hist.* iii 31.

*labefacere*, 'sap the allegiance of.'

§ 2. *navarchus*: the term properly seems to apply to the captain of a 'liburnica' (= 'biremis'), as contrasted with 'trierarchus,' though the distinction is not always preserved in literature.

§ 3. *recens*: adverb, so ch. 6, 5.

*inpelli*, &c., 'that he could be won over, and bring more besides to the cause.'

§ 4. *plura*: sc. 'dixit.'

*neque senatui . . . manere*: emended from Med. 'neque senatui quid manere' (which others emend to 'neque sancti quid manere').

§ 5. *eversae rei publicae*: perhaps referring to curtailment of the senate's prerogatives.

*accingeretur*: cf. Verg. *Georg.* iii 46 'accingar dicere pugnas.'

*partes*: cf. ch. 50, 5.

§ 6. *quavis*: here denoting a fact; Intr. II 40.

§ 7. *composita*, 'confronted,' a metaphor from the arena.

§ 8. *haud falsa*, &c., 'suspecting that the story might not be false, even though it was not proved to be true.'

CH. 52, § 1. *omissis*, &c., 'dispensing with a guard and the cumbersome accessories of his rank'; *mole*, like *ὄγκος*: *fortuna*e, as in xiv 53, 3.

§ 2. *sacra mensae*: cf. xiii 17, 3.

*qualiscumque*, 'however wicked.'

*in illa . . . domo*: cf. ch. 42, 1. These words as put into Piso's mouth are probably an invention of Tacitus, as the building of the new palace could only just have been commenced, and Nero was at this time residing in the Servilian gardens, ch. 55, 1.

§ 3. *in commune*, 'before all,' to the general body of the conspirators (in contrast to 'timore occulto'); cf. ch. 63, 1. The phrase has more generally the sense of 'communiter,' as in xiii 27, 6 and xv 12, 6.

*Silanus*: L. Junius Silanus Torquatus, son of the M. Silanus who was killed by Agrippina (xiii 1), and the last surviving male descendant of Augustus with the exception of Nero. On his death see xvi 7, 2 and foll.

C. Cassii: see xiii 41, 5.

*disciplina*: with 'sublatus,' 'and by his training under C. Cassius . . . rendered capable of the highest distinction.'

*daturis*: sc. 'imperium'; 'while those would readily grant it to him who stood outside the conspiracy, and who would pity Nero,' &c. This sentence represents Piso's thought, 'dabunt qui . . . sunt, quique miserabuntur,' the latter becoming imperfect subjunctive on the principle that when a compound sentence in future time is reported in indirect construction, only the main verb requires a future form.

§ 4. *ne*, &c., 'lest he might head a rising in favour of a republic' (an unfamiliar use of 'orior').

*sui muneris*, 'a matter of his bestowal'; cf. Hor. *Od.* iv 3, 21 'totum muneris hoc tui est' (Intr. II 25).

§ 5. *super eo crimine*, 'in that charge.' Cf. *Ann.* iii 17, 6 'biduum *super hac imagine cognitionis absumptum*.'  
*vetus odium*: cf. ch. 68, 3-5.

CH. 53, § 1. *circensium*: these games to Ceres took place April 12-19.

*egressu*: supine. For *rarus* cf. xiv 56, 6 '*rarus per urbem*.'

*laetitia*, 'amid the merriment occasioned by the show.'

§ 2. *ordinem*, 'the details,' cf. '*ordine indicii*,' xiii 20, 1.

*composuerant*, 'had arranged.'

*animi*: Intr. II 24 c.

§ 3. *tribuni*, &c.: i. e. those who had joined the plot.

*ut quisque audientiae habuisset*: a Graecism, like *ὡς τάχους εἶχεν ἕκαστος* (Intr. II 66). '*Audentia*' differs from '*audacia*' in being used only in a favourable sense.

*Salutis sive . . . Fortunae*: probably the same goddess is meant, the names being synonyms for the Tuscan '*Nortia*,' mentioned in *Juv.* x 74.

*Ferentino*: not the old Latin town but another of the same name in Etruria, known as the birthplace of the emperor Otho.

*detraxerat*: the dagger had probably been dedicated as a votive offering. Scaevinus himself gave a different account of it, ch. 55, 3.

§ 4. *aedem Cereris*: near the Circus Maximus. Both buildings seem to have been restored since the fire.

*Antonia*: daughter of Claudius by Aelia Paetina. She was put to death soon after the time at which the *Annals* end, perhaps on the charge of being involved in this plot.

C. Plinius: cf. xiii 20, 3 and Intr. I 3.

§ 5. *quoquo modo*, 'whether truly or falsely.'

*commodavisse*: properly with '*nomen*,' 'associated her name with this hopeless project and (ran) the risk.'

*notum amore*: Intr. II. 20.

*nisi si*: suggesting a motive that might make such an act possible.

CH. 54, § 1. *diversi generis*: sc. '*homines*.' ('*Diversi*' applies to '*ordinis*' and '*aetatis*' as well as to '*generis*.')

*multo sermone*, 'having held a long conversation.' (Intr. II 22.)

*supra*: ch. 53, 3.

*asperari*, 'to be sharpened.' The word is poetical, and is oftener used by Tacitus metaphorically.

*ardescere*: implying heating by friction (Intr. II. 52).

*Milicho*: a slave name, denoting quality (*μειλιχος*), like '*Pudens*,' '*Modestus*,' and others.

§ 2. *adfluentius solito*, 'on a more lavish scale than usual.'

§ 3. *manifestus*: so with genitive, ch. 66, 3; xiv 29, 1, &c. (Intr. II 24 c.)

*vagis*, 'desultory,' i. e. ranging from one subject to another with forced vivacity, an unusual sense for the word; perhaps '*variis*' should be read, cf. '*vario sermone*,' *Verg. Aen.* vi 160.

§ 4. *vulneribus*: dative, cf. Intr. II 9 b.

*ut plerique*, &c., 'as most authorities have declared in their account of ('de') the sequel.'

§ 5. *simulque*, &c., 'and at the same time he saw before him boundless wealth and power'; 'obversari' applying here to mental vision (but to actual sight in xiv 10, 5).

§ 6. *uxoris*, &c., 'from his wife he took a woman's base counsel.' *metum intentabat*, 'brought fear' (of discovery) 'to work upon him.' With the following clauses a verb of speaking is readily understood.

*viderint*: the tense, primary though following an historic tense, adds vividness to the language.

CH. 55, § 1. *hortos Servilianos*: these are mentioned in a passage of Suetonius as lying between the Palatine and the Porta Ostiensis.

*Epaphroditum*: he seems to have succeeded Doryphorus xiv 65, 1) in the post 'a libellis.' He helped Nero to his death, for which he was himself put to death by Domitian. He was a friend of Josephus, who dedicated to him his *Antiquities*, and is known to have owned Epictetus as his slave.

*graves*, 'formidable.'

*audierat coniectaverat*: asyndeton, cf. Intr. II 48.

§ 3. *cuius argueretur*, 'on which the charge was grounded'; Intr. II 24 a.

*olim*, &c., 'had long been treated with reverence in his family.' Scaevinus denies what is said of the dagger in ch. 53, 3.

*incustodita observatione*, &c., 'without any particular attention to the dates' (on which he did so). His defence is that he often revised his will, and that on this last occasion there was no particular significance in the act.

§ 4. *libertates*, 'grants of freedom.'

*testamento diffideret*: slaves manumitted by will would be sold to satisfy the creditors, unless the deceased's estate was sufficient to meet outstanding debts. Scaevinus might evade this by giving them freedom in his lifetime.

§ 5. *duris iudiciis*, 'severe critics.'

*palam*: to be taken adjectivally with 'cetera,' 'since the other charges resting on patent facts had nothing in them' (Intr. II 49).

§ 6. *constantiam*, 'an unshaken demeanour.'

*intestabilem*, 'detestable' (in old legal phraseology = disqualified from making or witnessing a will in consequence of misconduct).

*securitate*, 'self-possession.'

*labaret indicium*, 'the informer's story was falling to the ground.' Cf. xiii 43, 5 'labare defensio.'

*conlocutum*: ch. 54, 1.

CH. 56, § 1. *diversi*, 'separately.'

§ 2. *tormentorum*: under the Republic torture was only applied to slaves, but was inflicted (according to Suetonius) on Roman citizens even of high rank by Tiberius in trials for 'maiestas,' and



Claudius carried on the practice in spite of an oath at his accession to abstain from it (Dio); it would still be regarded as a tyrannical innovation, though in later times jurists recognized its legality. (For 'maiestas' see xiv 48, 2.)

**arguendi peritior**, 'more of an adept in accusation.'

**infensus**: cf. xiv 52, 2.

§ 4. **excusarent**: to show that their reluctance to disclose was natural.

**Aciliam**: according to the anonymous Life of Lucan she was a native of Corduba and daughter of Acilius Lucanus, one of the famous orators of that place.

**Gallum . . . Pollionem**: both exiled, ch. 71, 6. The latter married the daughter of Soranus (xvi 30, 4), who was forced to commit suicide on a charge of plotting in the interest of Rubellius Plautus.

CH. 57, § 1. **attineri**, 'was in custody,' so xiii 15, 4.

§ 2. **eo acrius**, &c., 'increasing her pains, so as not to be defied by a woman.'

**pervicere**, &c., 'broke down her denial of what she was taxed with.'

**contemptus**: explained by 'spernerentur' above = 'was disregarded,' 'proved fruitless.' **primus dies**: pregnant for 'tormenta primi diei' (Intr. II 61).

§ 3. **gestamine sellae**: so xiv 4, 6.

**dissolutis**, 'dislocated,' from the rack.

**vincolo fasciae . . . restricto**, 'tying the band.' 'Fascia,' a band worn by women over the breast.

**arcum sellae**: the arched frame of the chair.

**clariore**, &c., 'showing an example all the more noble, freed-woman as she was, in shielding strangers and persons almost unknown to her, in spite of such frightful pressure.' 'Clariore exemplo' is an adverbial adjunct to the action of the preceding verb, and so far may be regarded as a kind of ablative absolute; at the same time, owing to its position, it may also be regarded as ablative of quality with 'libertina mulier.' **protegendo** = 'dum protegit,' cf. 'percurcando,' xv 8, 3. (See also Intr. II 22.) 'Cum' introduces the contrast to 'clariore,' which here has the force of 'eo clariore.' **viri** has its distinct force, answering to 'mulier,' as 'ingenui' to 'libertina.'

§ 4. **passim**, 'one after another.'

CH. 58, § 1. **marī**: at Ostia. **amne**: the landing-places along the river.

§ 2. **Germanis**: horsemen of this nation had been included in the imperial bodyguard as early as the reign of Augustus. Some had formed part of Agrippina's retinue, xiii 18, 4.

**quasi externis**, 'as being foreigners'; 'quasi' = ὡς: cf. ch. 33, 2.

§ 3. **continua**, &c., 'afterwards there were incessant groups of chained prisoners being led along and kept waiting at the gates of the (Servilian) gardens.'

**ubi . . . introissent**: frequentative, cf. Intr. II 41.

**laetatum**, &c.: sc. 'esse aliquem,' 'the fact of having smiled on meeting a conspirator.' This is a correction for Med. 'latatum' (for which another suggestion is 'laeta tum verba erga coniuratos').

§ 4. **adnuenti**, 'making signs (to ask) whether.' For Subrius Flavius cf. ch. 49, 2.

**cognitionem**, 'the investigation,' used of a trial before the *princeps* or in the senate.

**renuit**, 'shook his head.'

**infragit impetum**, 'checked his impulse.'

CH. 59, § 1. **hortarentur**: with infinitive, cf. Intr. II 31.

**studia . . . temptare**, 'work upon the feelings of.'

§ 2. **integros**, 'those not yet implicated.'

**magnamque**, &c.: sc. 'fore,' 'the movement, once started, would be magnified by rumour, which had the utmost effect on the course of a revolution.'

§ 4. **ardua**, 'too difficult,' 'too impracticable.'

**in tot**, &c., 'considering the number of conspirators whose minds and bodies could be worked upon' (the former by rewards, the latter by torture).

**sperare**: sc. 'eum.'

§ 6. **dum amplectitur**, &c., 'throwing in his lot with the state,' 'invoking the general aid to the cause of Liberty.' So Cic. *pro Mil.* 27, 72 'nimis amplecti plebem.'

§ 7. **stipendiis recentes**, 'who had recently begun service.' The opposite, 'veterem stipendiis,' occurs *Ann.* ii 66, 3. For similar ablative (of respect) cf. 'frequens ordinibus,' xiv 34, 3; 'rarus egressu,' xv 53, 1.

**favore**: sc. 'in Pisonem' (ch. 48, 2-3). **tamquam** (Intr. II 50) is now usually read for the 'quamquam' of the MSS., which however could be explained as = 'although imbued with affection (for Nero),' emphasizing the groundlessness of his fear.

§ 8. **foedis adulationibus**: ablative of quality, 'full of disgusting flattery.'

**amori dedit**, 'made . . . as a concession to his affection.' Cf. *Ann.* i 7, 10 'dabat et famae,' 'he made (this) concession also to public opinion.' The expression 'das aliquid famae?' (*Hor. Sat.* ii 2, 94) seems to show the usage from which the expression is derived.

**degenerem**, 'of low birth.'

§ 9. **patientia**, 'complaisance,' i. e. connivance at her adultery with Piso before divorce.

CH. 60, § 1. **Laterani**: his end is cited as an instance of the dangers of wealth by Juvenal in *Sat.* x 15.

**illud breve**, &c., 'the necessary short interval for a choice of death,' or perhaps 'the usual' interval given by Nero to his victims for the opportunity of anticipating the executioner.

§ 2. **locum**: the 'Sessorium,' outside the Esquiline gate.

**Statii**: ch. 50, 3.

§ 3. **non quia**, &c.: cf. xiii 1, 1.

**coniurationis manifestum**: Intr. II 24 c.

**quando**, &c., 'since the poisoning had not succeeded.' Tacitus here gives as a fact what he had before stated as a rumour, ch. 45, 6. **hactenus**, 'only this much,' cf. xiv 3, 2.

§ 5. **salutem**, &c., 'his own safety rested on Piso's preservation.'

§ 6. **nosceret**, 'admit,' for the more usual 'adgnosceret' (Intr. II 28).

§ 7. **prudens**: aware of the impending conspiracy.

**suburbano rure**, 'his suburban country seat,' cf. xiv 53, 6.

§ 8. **Pompeia Paulina**: daughter or sister of Pompeius Paulinus, mentioned as legatus of Lower Germany, xiii 53, 2, and as a consular in xv 18, 4.

CH. 61, § 1. **rationem**, &c., 'pleaded in excuse the regard which he had to pay to his health.'

§ 2. **privati**: i.e. any one but the emperor.

§ 3. **nec sibi**, &c.: Seneca also makes this boast in *de Clem.* ii. 2, 3 'maluerim veris offendere quam placere adulando.' Cf. his words in ch. 23, 6.

**gnarum** = 'notum,' this passive use of the word is almost peculiar to Tacitus (Intr. II 51 fin.).

§ 4. **intimum**, &c., 'innermost circle of advisers.'

§ 6. **Fabius Rusticus**: see xiii 20, 3 and Intr. I 3.

**quo venerat**: cf. Intr. II 37.

**fatali**, &c., 'with the cowardice all were fated to display.'

§ 7. **scelera**: i.e. Nero's. 'He added to the crimes, to avenge which he had conspired.'

**pepercit**, 'spared his tongue' the degradation of the message.

**qui**, &c., 'to announce that he must die'; cf. 'accepto... supremæ necessitatis nuntio,' *Hist.* i 72, 5.

CH. 62, § 1. **tabulas**: the tablets on which his will had been written, to which he wished now to make some additions or alterations. The centurion would not sanction the delay this might cause.

**bonarum**, &c. (1) 'they would win the reputation of noble accomplishments as the fruit of their loyal friendship.' **fructum** is conjectured for Med. 'tā' (= 'tam'). (2) Reading 'tam,' and putting comma at 'artium' instead of at 'essent,' 'if they remained mindful of his noble accomplishments, they would win the glory of so devoted a friendship.'

§ 2. **modo**, &c., 'now by ordinary talk, now in the more earnest tones of reproof.'

**meditata ratio**, 'the principles thought out.'

§ 3. **ignaram** = 'ignotam'; cf. 'gnarum,' ch. 61, 3.

**matrem fratremque interfectos**: it is curious that no reference to the murder of Octavia is made as well.

**educatoris præceptorisque**, 'master and teacher.' 'Educator' technically = *παιδαγωγός* (xiii 15, 6), denoting a position inferior to that held by Seneca.

CH. 63, § 1. **velut in commune**: (1) 'as though addressing his friends in general,' i.e. not merely the limited audience then

present; (2) 'as though to the general body of those present,' contrasting his particular injunctions to his wife (cf. ch. 52, 3).

**adversus praesentem fortitudinem:** (1) so Med. 'in a spirit somewhat in contrast to the courage he was showing'; or (2) adopting 'formidinem,' the reading of some inferior MSS. for 'fortitudinem,' 'in view of the terrors immediately before him.'

§ 3. **vitae delenimenta,** 'means of soothing life.'

**exemplo,** 'so noble a deed.' Cf. xiii 44, 8.

§ 5. **senile corpus:** Seneca was at this time about seventy.

§ 7. **pleraque, &c.,** 'he dictated at considerable length a composition which I refrain from adapting, as it has been published in his own words.' Dio alludes to this treatise, but it is not extant.

CH. 64, § 1. **invidia crudelitatis:** so 'invidia sacrilegii,' ch. 45, 5.

**premunt**= 'reprimunt,' cf. xiv 5, 2 (Intr. II 28).

**incertum an, &c.,** 'when she was perhaps unconscious.' 'Incertum an' usually suggests a probability, and here Tacitus treats the belief that she wished for life as a vulgar calumny. (For the syntax cf. Intr. II 59.)

§ 2. **ad deteriora promptum,** 'ready to accept the worse version.'

**blandimentis,** 'attractions.'

**laudabili memoria:** Intr. II 22.

**in eum, &c.,** 'blanched to such paleness as would give proof.'

§ 3. **tractu, &c.,** 'as the lingering protraction of his end continued.'

**fide . . . arte:** cf. xiii 29, 3 'experientia probatos.' Intr. II 20.

**venenum:** hemlock, *κώνειον*, 'cicuta.'

**frigidus, &c.:** to take effect the poison required an active circulation.

§ 4. **stagnum,** 'bath'; the object was to promote the flow of blood by restoring circulation or to stimulate the action of the hemlock.

**libare, &c.:** after the fashion of the Greeks at the end of a feast, when libation was made to *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ*. Here the attribute 'liberator,' *ἐλευθέριος*, is appropriately substituted.

§ 5. **balneo:** a hot vapour bath; cf. xiv 64, 3.

§ 6. **etiam tum praedives:** this implies that much of Seneca's vast wealth had passed away from him before his death. Dio says that he resigned his property to Nero as a contribution towards rebuilding Rome after the fire.

CH. 65, § 1. **Subrium Flavum:** first mentioned in ch. 49.

**insontibus:** sc. 'coniurationis.' The case is dative of agent, with 'delecto.'

**claritudine:** Intr. II 19.

§ 2. **non referre dedecori,** 'it made no difference as to the disgrace.' 'Refert' is found with dative of the thing concerned in Plautus, *Truc.* ii 4, 40, and the construction may be defended as natural to Tacitus' use of the dative, see Intr. II 9 a. On the other

hand, the correction 'dedecoris' is easy, as the final *s* might readily be lost owing to the next word being 'si.'

**tragicō ornatu canebat**: meaning the performance of 'mimes' on tragic themes, in which pieces were sung in character by the chief actor, who was supported by other actors in dumb show, and probably also by a chorus (cf. xiii 19, 4).

CH. 66, § 1. **inquisitorem**, 'judge'; he was one of those who conducted the examination of the accused, cf. ch. 58, 3.

§ 2. **ultro**, with 'redderet,' 'urged him to repay the favour of so good a monarch of his own accord,' by confessing his share in the plot.

§ 3. **praepediens**, 'halting in his utterance.' Elsewhere 'praepedire' is used of what hinders utterance, as 'singultu medios praepediente sonos,' Ovid, *Tr.* i 3, 42.

CH. 67, § 1. **consociaturum**: sc. 'fuisse' (Intr. II 27).

**amplexus**, 'seizing upon,' 'catching at.'

§ 3. **parricida**: the term denotes the murderer of any near relative, cf. 'parricidam liberum,' Livy iii 53, 5. Dio's version makes Flavius cite only Nero's chariot-driving and singing in public as the crimes that roused his detestation. Cf. the enumeration of Nero's crimes in Juv. viii 211 and foll.

§ 4. **nec minus**, &c., 'and yet the soldier's unpolished and forcible sentiments were equally well worth knowing.'

§ 5. **nihil . . . gravius**, 'the bitterest reproach that reached his ears.'

§ 6. **ex disciplina**, 'according to regulation.'

§ 8. **sesquiplaga**, 'a blow and a half.' An expression coined on the analogy of 'sesquipes,' 'sesquimodius,' and noticed by Tacitus for its brutal humour.

CH. 68, § 1. **subveniri**: Dio's version *ὅτι ἄλλως σοι βοηθήσαι οὐκ ἔδυνάμην* indicates that Asper meant that the only service he could do Nero was to save him from his crimes by killing him; 'that nothing else could be done for his countless abominations.'

§ 2. **degeneravere**, 'disgraced themselves.'

§ 3. **opperiebatur**: followed by 'ut' also in Livy (xlii 48, 10).

**insociabilem**, 'unmanageable,' 'incompatible.'

§ 4. **ferociam** = *παρησίων*.

**inlusus**, &c., 'the butt of his rough jests, such as leave a bitter memory, being based mainly on the truth.'

§ 5. **repens** = 'recens.'

**Statiliam Messalinam**: subsequently married to Nero after the death of Poppaea. She was descended from Statilius Taurus, praefectus urbis under Augustus.

CH. 69, § 1. **existente**, 'making an appearance.'

**speciem induere**: so too in Livy, 'percussoris speciem induit'; the more usual phrase being 'personam induere.'

**ad vim**, &c., 'resorting to a tyrant's violence.'

**velut arcem**, 'his citadel, as it were.' Nero's way of referring to the position of Vestinus' house

§ 2. *dissimulando metu*: dative of purpose. (For its co-ordination with participle cf. *Intr.* II 64 g.)

§ 3. *medicus*: probably sent by Nero, who, according to Suet., in dealing with his victims, 'ne quid morae interveniret, medicos admovebat, qui cunctantes curarent (ita enim vocabatur venas mortis gratia incidere).'

§ 4. *omissi sunt*, 'were left free to depart.'  
ex, 'after.'

*imaginatus*, 'picturing to himself.' The word is not found elsewhere in Tacitus, but occurs several times in Pliny *ma.* and Quint. (cf. *ch.* 36, 1 'imaginatio').

*CH.* 70, § 1. *ab extremis*, 'from the extremities.'

*fervido*: literally, 'though his breast remained warm and in possession of intelligence.' The phrase illustrates the Roman conception of the 'cor' as the seat of intelligence. Cf. 'vecors,' 'socors,' 'cordatus.'

*carmen*: here = 'a passage' of his poetry, perhaps *Phars.* iii 635 and foll.

*per*, &c., 'by a form of death similar to it.' The expression comes from Vergil, 'plurima mortis imago,' *Aen.* ii 369 (cf. *Thuc.* iii 81 *πάντα ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου*).

§ 2. *Senecio*, &c.: persons named in *chs.* 49 and 50.  
ex, 'in accordance with.'

*CH.* 71, § 1. *domum*: sc. 'suam quisque.' For the custom cf. *Juv.* vi 79. Reference is also made to the public rejoicings on this occasion in *Juv.* x 65 and foll.

§ 2. *Natalis*: cf. *ch.* 56. For *Proculus*, cf. *ch.* 66.

§ 3. *Milichus*: cf. *ch.* 54. The surname he adopted would be Σωτήρ.

§ 4. *veniam . . . corruptit*, 'frustrated (spoilt, cancelled) the pardon which he had accepted from the Emperor by the vaingloriousness of his end,' i. e. by a vainglorious suicide. His case was different from that of *Silvanus*, who refused acquittal on being tried in the ordinary way: suicide, after pardon solicited and accepted, did not shew true spirit but vainglory.

§ 5. *quasi*, 'on the ground that' (*Intr.* II 50).

*existimarentur*: for *Med.* 'extimarentur.'

§ 6. *per amicitiam Senecae*: to be taken with 'data exilia.'

§ 7. *Gallus* and his wife were banished to *Andros*, where an inscription records them as patrons and benefactors.

§ 9. *Verginium Flavum*: teacher of *Persius*, and mentioned with respect by *Quintilian*.

*Musonium*: cf. xiv 59, 2.

§ 10. *Cluidieno*, &c.: these persons are wholly unknown.

*velut in*, &c., 'as it were to complete the mass and list.'

§ 11. *Caesennius Maximus*: a friend of *Seneca*.

*reos fuisse*, &c., 'learning that they had been prosecuted only by the announcement of their sentence.'

§ 12. *dissimulata*, 'was ignored.'

CH. 72, § 1. *ex modo annonae*, 'according to the market price'; cf. ch. 18, 3; 39, 2. The change here described applies to the praetorians, who hitherto had the price of their rations stopped out of their pay, which accordingly was higher than that of the ordinary legionaries (cf. *Ann.* i 17), who had received free corn rations since the time of Augustus.

§ 2. *Turpiliano*: cf. xiv 29.

*Nervae*: subsequently Emperor, in succession to Domitian, 96 A.D. At this time he was about thirty-three years old. He and Turpilianus probably received these honours as being members of the Emperor's privy council; cf. ch. 25, 2.

§ 3. *qui quia*: Med. reads 'nymphidio quann̄c,' emended in older editions to 'de quo quia nunc.' Probably a larger gap exists, as Tacitus usually gives two names when mentioning a person for the first time. (Ritt. suggests 'Nymphidio Sabino. De Nymphidio, quando nunc,' &c.)

*pars . . . erit*, 'will be prominent in the massacres at Rome.' The expression is suggested from Verg. *Aen.* ii 6 'quorum pars magna fui,' and the words indicate that the story of his attempt to make himself emperor after Nero's death (68 A.D.) and his death at the hands of the soldiers would be included in the narrative, now lost, at the end of this book.

§ 4. *principum*, 'of the imperial family.'

*ex Gaio Caesare*: Plutarch discredits this story, and says Nymphidius' father was Martianus, a gladiator.

*habitu*: here = personal appearance. According to Suet. *Cal.* 50, Gaius was 'statura eminenti, corpore enormi, . . . oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva.'

*inclusit*: here probably is lost a further description of Nymphidius' early life, including his promotion to the post of colleague with Tigellinus in command of the praetorians, in succession to Faenius Rufus.

CH. 73, § 1. *sed*: resuming the narrative after the digression.

*conlata*, &c.: the conspirators had not been tried (as was usual under Tiberius) in the senate, but privately before the princeps at his Servilian villa (ch. 58, 3). Hence he published this record of the proceedings to show that the conspiracy was real.

§ 2. *tamquam*: Intr. II 50.

§ 3. *adultam*, 'matured.'

*revictam*, 'brought home to its perpetrators,' = 'convictam.'

§ 4. *Gallionem*: the proconsul of Achaia mentioned in Acts xviii 12. He was originally named Annaeus Novatus, but changed his name on being adopted by the Gallio of *Ann.* vi 3, 1. According to Jerome, he was forced to commit suicide in the year following this.

*Clemens*: otherwise unknown.

*hostem et parricidam*: the same words are used by the senators against Catiline (Sall. *Cat.* 31), and by the followers of Otho against Vitellius, *Hist.* i 85. The words allege participation in the conspiracy.

**ne, &c.:** this clause gives the substance of the arguments urged by the 'patres.' Cf. xiii 53, 4.

**composita,** 'set at rest'; cf. 'compositis bellis,' *Ann.* iii 56, 8.

CH. 74, § 1. **apud circum** = 'in circo.' The sun would naturally be worshipped here, as being the great charioteer. Tertullian writes 'circus soli principaliter consecratur, cuius aedes medio spatio et effigies de fastigio aedis emicat' (*de Spect.* 8).

**occulta coniurationis:** cf. *Intr.* II 23.

**Cerealium:** see ch. 53, 1.

**Neronis cognomentum:** April is called 'Neroneus' in xvi 12, 3.

**templum, &c.:** the expression is obscure, as the place from which Scaevinus had taken the dagger was already a temple, see ch. 53. Perhaps some words are lost, showing that a new temple to 'Salus' was to be built in Rome as well as some monument at Ferentinum.

§ 2. **ipse:** Nero. So Vitellius dedicated the sword by which Otho committed suicide (*Suet. Vit.* 10).

**arma,** 'the rising,' of Vindex. See Appendix to book xvi.

**trahebatur,** 'was interpreted.'

§ 3. **in commentariis senatus:** see *Intr.* I 3.

**pro sententia,** 'in giving his opinion.'

**Cerialem Anicium:** for his death see xvi 17, 8.

**templum, &c.:** it would have been an innovation to found a shrine at Rome to a living emperor; such shrines, under the early empire, were allowed in the provinces alone. Divine titles might be applied by courtiers, but formal deification by the senate was not solemnized till an emperor's death: hence Tertullian's 'maledictum est, ante apotheosin deum Caesarem nuncupare' (*Apol.* 34).

§ 4. **venerationem, &c.:** restored by conjecture from Med. 'et veneratio itē merito quorundā ad omīa dolum sui exitus uertetur.' The use of **sui** indicates that some sentence has been lost in which Nero stood as subject and his reason for refusing the honour was explained.



## ANNALS. BOOK XVI

### Ch. 1-13. Remaining events of the year.

1-3. Delusion propagated by Caesellius Bassus respecting a treasure in Africa. 4, 5. Recurrence of the Neronian festival: Nero appears on the stage of the public theatre: constant presence and applause exacted from the audience; peril of Vespasian. 6. Death of Poppaea, and honours paid to her. 7-9. C. Cassius and L. Silanus impeached by Nero before the senate: the former exiled; the latter removed to Barium and killed there. 10, 11. L. Vetus, his daughter Pollitta, and mother-in-law Sextia, forced to suicide. 12. P. Gallus exiled. The months of May and June to be called Claudius and Germanicus. 13. Storms in Campania and pestilence at Rome: levy of troops in provinces, and bounty of Nero to the people of Lugdunum.

A. U. C. 819, A. D. 66. C. Suetonius Paulinus, C. Luccius Telesinus, *cons.*

### Ch. 14-20. Various persons put to death.

14-16. P. Anteius and Ostorius Scapula accused of astrology by Antistius Sosianus: their deaths. Excuse of Tacitus for recording the general want of spirit. 17. Deaths of Rufrius Crispinus, Annaeus Mela (brother of Seneca and father of Lucan), and Cerialis Anicius. 18-20. Death and character of C. Petronius, who taunts Nero in writing with his secret excesses: this leads to the exile of Silia. Minucius Thermus sacrificed to the enmity of Tigellinus.

### Ch. 21-35. Crowning iniquity of the deaths of Thræsea Paetus and Barea Soranus.

21, 22. Speech of Capito Cossutianus against Thræsea, respecting his conduct in the senate and subsequent absence from it. 23. Ostorius Sabinus, a knight, impeaches Soranus for his conduct as proconsul of Asia. 24-26. Thræsea forbidden to meet Nero on his entry into Rome with Tiridates. He demands to know the ground of offence, and consults with his friends whether he should meet the charge or anticipate it by death. 27-29. The senate surrounded by soldiers: letter of Nero read: speech of Epirus Marcellus against Thræsea, Helvidius Priscus, Paconius Agrippinus, Curtius Montanus. Consternation in the senate. 30-32. Charges of Ostorius against Soranus and his daughter Servilia, wife of the exiled Annius Pollio, and their defence: baseness of P. Egnatius the Stoic in bearing witness against him. 33. Constancy of Cassius Asclepiodotus, a friend of Soranus. Sentence passed, that Thræsea, Soranus, and Servilia be permitted

to commit suicide; Helvidius and Paconius to be banished from Italy; Montanus to be excluded from public life: the accusers rewarded. 34, 35. Last hours of Thræsea.

CH. 1, § 1. *vanitatem*, 'credulity'; so in xiv 22, 4.

*Bassi*: Suetonius omits the name, but styles the person 'eques Romanus.'

*turbida*, 'disordered'; so '*turbidus animi*,' said of Gaius, *Hist.* iv 48, 2.

*emergatus*: by bribing the '*ianitores*.' Cf. Juv. iii 184.

*non*, &c., 'not coined into money, but in rude and antique masses' (the ablative is that of quality). Notice the bold omission of a participle with *in formam*; and for the expression cf. '*in faciem*,' xiii 38, 2.

§ 2. *lateres*, 'ingots.' '*Columnae*,' a grandiloquent word for upright bars.

*occulta*: sc. '*fuisse*.'

*augendis*: dative of purpose.

§ 3. *ut coniectura demonstrabat*: parenthetical. *abdidisse* depends on '*expromit*.'

*Dido*: accusative.

*reges Numidarum*: such as Iarbas, Verg. *Aen.* iv 36.

*alias*, 'otherwise.' Usually in Tacitus it means 'at other times.'

CH. 2, § 1. *fide*: used strictly with '*auctoris*,' and more loosely with '*negotii*'; 'the credibility of the informant and the intrinsic likelihood of the matter.'

*nosceret*: Intr. II 28.

*velut paratam*, 'lying as it were ready to hand.' So also '*praeda parata*' in Ovid, *Her.* viii. 2.

§ 2. *delectum remigium*, 'picked oarsmen.'

*nec aliud*, &c., 'and throughout those days nothing else was discussed, with credulity on the part of the people, but with language of far different import on the part of the thoughtful.' For this use of '*diversus*' cf. '*diversa simulatione*,' xiv 10, 4; for '*ferre*' cf. xv 46, 1.

§ 3. *quinquennale ludierum*: instituted in 60 A.D.; xiv 20, 1.

*ab oratoribusque*: Med. has '*auaratoribus oratoribusque*'; Ritt. reads '[*ab oratoribus*] *oratoribusque*,' considering the former words interpolated from a marginal note explaining the dative of agent.

*praecipua*: sc. '*haec*,' 'this was taken up as a special theme of eulogy upon the emperor.'

§ 4. *confusum*, &c.: (1) taking '*metallis*' as ablative of place, 'in mines'; '*confusum*,' 'mixed with other substances,' or (2) taking '*metallis*' as ablative of instrument, 'gold commingled with (other) ores.' As the text stands, (1) seems best; but in favour of (2) is the consideration that '*aliis*' might easily have dropped out after '*metallis*' in copying.

**provenire**, 'was fruitful'; the word more properly applies to the produce itself, as xiii 57, 2.

**obvias**, 'freely presenting themselves,' 'unsought.'

**quaeque alia**, &c., 'and other flatteries they invented, highly eloquent and servile in the extreme, confident of his ready acceptance of them.' (*gingebant*, strictly standing in the relative clause, may be understood as verb also to the principal clause commencing with '*securi*.')

CH. 3, § 1. **luxuria**, 'his extravagance.' Suetonius connects with this expectation the costly buildings mentioned by Tacitus earlier, xv 42-43.

**inde**, 'out of this treasure,' by anticipation.

**largiebatur**: Tacitus puts the amount squandered in indiscriminate largesses at 2,200 million sesterces (about £18,000,000), *H.* i 20, 2.

**paupertatis publicae**, 'exhaustion of the public funds.' In Suet. *Ner.* 32, we are told that his extravagance at this period made Nero 'ita iam exhaustus et egens ut stipendia quoque militum et commoda veteranorum protrahi ac differri necesse esset.'

§ 2. **circum**: an attribute. Cf. '*dites circum terras*,' *Ann.* iv 55, 8; *Intr.* II 49.

**admirans**, 'protesting with astonishment.'

**in locum**, 'to make up for.'

**gazae**: a Persian word, used especially of royal treasure.

CH. 4, § 1. **lustrali certamine**: cf. xiv 20, 1.

**dedecus**: the scandal of his appearance on the stage.

**facundiae**, 'of eloquence.' This prize is offered to Nero in virtue of his poetic gifts, of which he proceeds to give proof by reciting a poem of his own.

**ludiera deformitas**, 'the degradation of the public stage.' Cf. '*deformia*,' xiv 15, 3.

§ 2. **nihil ambitu**, &c., 'he had no need of any senatorial influence or authority (over the judges), but would meet his rivals on equal terms and only gain the honour as awarded by the conscientious verdict of the judges.'

**carmen**: part of the '*Troica*,' according to Dio.

**in scaena**: in the great theatre of Pompeius, cf. xiii 54, 4.

**publicaret**, 'that he would make exhibition of all his accomplishments.'

**ingreditur**: after reciting as a poet he left the stage, and on pressure from the people re-entered as a harper. Suetonius says that he sang the part of Niobe.

**citharæ legibus**, 'the etiquette of the harper's profession.'

§ 3. **genu**: accusative of respect (*Intr.* II 4).

§ 4. **iuvare**, 'to stimulate' by applause. For the '*histriones*' cf. xiii 19, 4.

**certis modis**, 'in regular cadence'; **composito**, 'regulated, modulated.' So too Dio speaks of the people in the time of

Commodus (180-193 A.D.) as practising a harmonized style of applause, εὐπύθμως ἐκβοᾶν.

CH. 5, § 1. **municipiis**: the following words show that this means the Italian country towns, more usually termed by Tacitus 'municipia et coloniae.' For the contrast of life in these towns with that of Rome cf. Pliny, *Ep.* i 14, 4 'patria est ei Brixia ex illa nostra Italia, quae multum adhuc verecundiae frugalitatis atque etiam rusticitatis antiquae retinet.'

**antiqui moris retinente**: so 'av tae nobilitatis retinens,' *Ann.* ii 38, 9.

**lascivia inexperti**, 'inexperienced in profligacy.' So 'bonis inexpertus' in Livy, and 'bellis inexpertus,' Tac. *H.* i 8, 2.

**officio . . . utilitate**: cf. 'publica utilitate,' xv 44, 8; *Intr.* II 19.

**turbarent gnaros**: sc. 'plaudendi,' 'threw out the trained applauders.'

**inpari**, 'ill-regulated,' 'out of time.'

§ 2. **dum . . . enituntur**, 'fighting their way through,' either to reach their places in the auditorium or to get out.

**sedilibus**: ablative of place.

§ 3. **metus**, si: cf. *Ann.* i 11, 5 'patres, quibus unus metus si intellegere videntur,' meaning that the consequence of detection rather than detection itself was dreaded.

**palam**, 'many being there openly'; *Intr.* II 49.

§ 4. **redditum**, 'paid off.'

§ 5. **Vespasianum**: not mentioned in any other extant portion of the *Annals* (except iii 55, 5), but his name must have occurred in the account of the campaigns of Plautius in Britain, and of the Jewish rebellion, when he was appointed commander in Palestine, 66 A.D.

**tamquam**: *Intr.* II 50.

**Phoebo**: otherwise unnoticed by Tacitus. Dio describes how Vespasian subsequently dismissed him with a contemptuous remark.

**mox**: he retired into obscurity till his appointment in Judaea.

**maiore fato**, 'owing to his grander destiny,' i. e. because he was to be emperor.

CH. 6, § 1. **ictu calcis**: Suetonius adds that his burst of passion was caused by her reproaching him for coming late from the circus.

**venenum**: sc. 'fuisse.'

**obnoxius**, &c., 'dominated by love of his wife' (cf. xiii 45, 3).

§ 2. **Romanus mos**: cremation, according to the elder Pliny, was not an old Roman custom, but was first instituted for disposing of the dead in distant wars, and won its way slowly at Rome, Sulla being the first of the Cornelia gens to be cremated.

**conditur** (from 'condio'), 'was embalmed.' **differtum odoribus** expresses the process.

**tumulo Iuliorum**: the mausoleum of Augustus in the Campus Martius.

§ 3. **tamen**: though she was not burnt.

*divinae infantis*, 'a child which had been deified'; cf. xv 23.

CH. 7, § 1. *recordantibus*, 'to those who thought upon (her past).' Her 'saevitia' was shown in her conduct towards Octavia, xiv 59-64; cf. also xv 61, 4.

*complevit*, 'crowned.' 'Mortem' should be regarded in a pregnant sense, as = 'invidiam mortis.'

*Cassium*: cf. xiii 41, 5. The prohibition to attend the funeral would be a 'renuntiatio amicitiae,' cf. xv 23, 5.

§ 2. *dilatum est*: sc. 'malum.'

*Silanus*: cf. xv 52, 3.

§ 3. *missa oratione*: i.e. by sending a letter introducing a 'relatio,' cf. Juv. x 71.

*removendos a re publica*, 'must be removed from public life,' i.e. banished.

*C. Cassi*: the conspirator against Julius Caesar. The effigies of Brutus and Cassius, though not shown publicly at funerals, were allowed by Augustus to be kept in the houses of their descendants; and even at this time their birthdays were kept as festivals by men of republican sentiments, such as Thræsea and Helvidius (Juv. v 36).

*duci partium*, 'to the leader of the cause' (cf. 'partes,' xv 50, 5).

§ 4. *praeruptum*, 'reckless.' The word is not elsewhere used of persons.

*quem*, &c., 'to display (as leader) for a revolution.'

CH. 8, § 1. *isdem quibus patrum*: cf. xv 35, 3.

*inania*, &c., 'charges as false as they were frivolous' (accusative in apposition to the clause introduced by 'tamquam,' which gives the substance of Nero's accusation; see also Intr. II 6 a).

*intentionior*, &c., 'was the more careful through (the general) fear, and alarm at his uncle's destruction had put him on his guard (against this particular offence).'

§ 2. *inducti*, &c., 'then were brought before the senate, as nominal informers, persons to bring a false charge,' &c. Among these would be the Stoic Heliodorus, named by the Schol. on Juv. i 33 'magni delator amici.'

*Lepidam*: sister of Junia Calvina, cf. xiv 12, 5.

*diros*, 'magical.' For passages illustrating ideas about witchcraft in the Augustan age cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8; Hor. *Od.* i 27, 21, *Epod.* 5, *Sat.* i 8. (For 'diros sacrorum ritus' see Intr. II 57.)

§ 3. *Calpurnius Fabatus*: a recipient of letters from the younger Pliny, who married his grand-daughter Calpurnia Hispulla.

*distentum*, 'engrossed.' For *circa* = 'in relation to,' 'in the matter of,' cf. Intr. II 46.

*minores*, 'beneath notice.'

CH. 9, § 1. *de Lepida*: her fate is not known.

§ 2. *senectus*, &c., 'his age was left to do its work'; however

he survived Nero and returned under Vespasian, dying a natural death. (Med. has 'senatus eius': for the correction cf. *Ann.* xi 26, 2 'ut senectam principis opperirentur.')

**Barium**: on the Adriatic; 'Bari moenia piscosi,' Hor. *Sat.* i 5, 96.

§ 3. **suadenti abrumpere**: cf. Intr. II 31.

**remittere**: corrected in Med. by a later hand for the first reading 'permittere.' 'He would not excuse his assassin from his glorious task' (ironical). 'Se' omitted, cf. Intr. II 3 a.

§ 4. **premi** = 'opprimi,' 'to be overpowered' (Intr. II 28).

§ 5. **a centurione**: as though 'caderet' = 'interficeretur.' For the mood see Intr. II 40.

**adversis**, 'in the front of his body.'

CH. 10, § 1. **Vetus**: governor of Upper Germany, xiii 53; father-in-law of Rubellius Plautus, whom he advised to resist the death-sentence, xiv 58, 3.

**Pollitta**: corrected as being a known Roman name, from the Med. 'polutia.' Her gentile name was Antistia, xiv 22, 5.

**tamquam**, &c., 'as though by merely living they reproached him with the murder of Rubellius Plautus.'

§ 2. **praebuit**: sc. 'principi.'

**interversis**, 'after having embezzled.'

**Asiae pro consule**: Vetus was proconsul of Asia for the year preceding these events.

§ 3. **componi**, &c., 'were matched against each other on an equal footing'; a metaphor from the arena. Properly, a freedman could not bring a criminal accusation against his patron.

**Formianos**, &c., 'to his estate at Formiae.'

§ 4. **super**, 'besides,' 'irrespectively of.'

**atrox**, 'exasperated.'

**cervicem**: he had been beheaded, xiv 59, 4.

**sanguinem et vestes respersas**: hendiadys, = 'vestes sanguine respersas.'

**inpexa**, 'unkempt'; cf. Tac. *Dial.* 20, 3 'tristem et inpexam antiquitatem.' (Med. has 'In plexa,' probably a corruption due to 'amplexa' above.)

**luctu . . . alimentis**: Intr. II 22 a.

§ 5. **egressus obsidens**: lit. 'laying siege to his goings-out,' waiting for him to come out and then, as we might say, besieging him with her appeals. 'Egressus' can denote the action quite as well as the place of exit, and in this sense best corresponds with 'aditu.'

**collegam**: he was colleague with Nero in his first consulship, 55 A.D., xiii 11.

**inmobilem . . . iuxta**: 'obdurate alike to entreaty and protest.' 'Invidia' is similarly used in xv 19, 2.

CH. 11, § 1. **nuntiat . . . abicere**: Intr. II 31.

**uti necessitate**, 'make the best of the inevitable,' i.e. die with dignity.

**cognitionem**: the technical term for trial before senate (ch. 30, 3) or princeps.

**trucem sententiam**: sentence of death, cf. § 6.

§ 2. **heredem Caesarem**: Tiberius did not always accept such legacies, *Ann.* ii 48, 1; Nero, according to Suet., insisted on them, and even enacted 'ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent,' and Pliny calls Domitian 'unus omnium, nunc quia scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus, heres.'

**nepotibus**: the children of Rubellius Plautus are mentioned in xiv 59, 1. One of them, Rubellius Blandus, is addressed in *Juv.* viii 39.

§ 3. **proxime libertatem**, 'in nearly Republican style.' (For the accusative cf. xv 15, 6.)

**novissimo**, 'at the last moment.'

§ 4. **properi**: adverbial (*Intr.* II 2 b).

**certatim**, &c., 'each praying eagerly for a speedy end (i.e. to be the first to die), so as to leave their own kindred surviving, though doomed to perish.' **et** = 'et tamen,' cf. xiv 65, 2.

§ 5. **seniores**, &c., 'the (two) elder died first, then she who was in her earliest years.' 'Cui prima aetas' would however apply better to a child, than to a young wife and mother; and this gives force to the suggestion that 'prima' may be a corruption of 'proxima' and that for 'seniore,' the reading of *Med.*, the right correction is 'senior,' 'the old man died first, then the women in order of age.'

§ 6. **more maiorum**: see xiv 48, 4.

**sine arbitro**, 'without interference,' i.e. without sending a centurion to see the death-sentence carried out.

CH. 12, § 1. **Faenio Rufo**: xv 50, 4.

**aqua atque igni prohibitus**: the usual phrase is 'alicui aqua atque igni interdicere.' The sentence involved exile and loss of property, but was not so severe as 'deportatio,' as it allowed some choice of residence.

§ 2. **liberto et accusatori** = *Fortunatus*, see ch. 10.

**viatores**: xiii 27, 2.

§ 3. **Claudii . . . Germanici**: chosen as names borne by Nero himself; so Domitian gave the names 'Germanicus' and 'Domitianus' to September and October, in his own honour; and the various names of Commodus were given by his courtiers to five successive months.

**mutantur**: used as though 'nomina mensium' were subject.

**transmissum**: (1) 'transmuted,' sc. 'in nomen Germanici,' an unprecedented use of the word (but quite possible), or (2) 'was allowed to pass into oblivion,' 'was dropped.'

**duo Torquati**: xv 35, 2 and xvi 8-9.

CH. 13, § 1. **nulla**, &c., 'without there being any visible blight in the air.' (For the subjunctive cf. *Intr.* II 41.) A plague is assigned 'morbo caeli,' in *Verg. G.* iii 478.

§ 2. **dum deflent**: the rapidity of the style omits some such

## TACITUS ANNALS: NOTES

phrase as 'eodem morbo correpti moriebantur et,' required by the sense before 'eodem rogo cremabantur.'

§ 3. **promisci**: 'indiscriminate,' as common as those of ordinary folk.

§ 4. **dilectus**: enrolment by conscription of Roman citizens in the provinces named. Ordinarily the legions were recruited by voluntary enlistment.

**Illyricis**: the term covers the legions in Pannonia and Dalmatia (perhaps also those in Moesia).

§ 5. **cladem . . . casibus**: according to Seneca (*Ep.* 91, 14) Lugdunum was burnt down in the hundredth year from its foundation as a colony by Plancus in 43 B.C. This would bring the date of the fire to 58 A.D., which gives rise to the following difficulties:—(1) the 'consolation' sent to Lugdunum by Nero is offered some seven years after the disaster; (2) it is unlikely that the inhabitants could have sent so large a sum as four million sesterces to Rome after the Great Fire of 64 A.D. (indicated by 'urbis casibus') so soon after their own heavy losses; and (3) 'ante' most naturally means 'before they suffered their own disaster.' It is probable, therefore, that the date given by Seneca for the burning of Lugdunum is erroneous, and that it should be ascribed to some time after the fire at Rome. The alternative is to take 'cladem Lugdunensem' as a second disaster otherwise unknown; but it is unlikely that if such a thing had happened twice within ten years Tacitus would not have said more about it.

**amissa urbi**, 'what their city (i. e. Lugdunum) had lost.'

**urbis casibus**: for Med. 'turbis casibus,' emended in some old editions to 'turbidis casibus,' and taken as referring to troubles in the time of Claudius or Gaius.

CH. 14, § 1. **C. Suetonio**: the famous general Suetonius Paulinus, xiv 29, 2. He had probably been consul suffectus some time before.

**Luccius Telesinus** is mentioned by Philostratus among the philosophers exiled by Domitian.

**ut dixi**: xiv 48, 1.

**occasionum**, 'not slow to seize opportunities': for similar genitive of reference cf. 'laborum segnes,' xiv 33, 4.

**eiusdem loci**: the place of Antistius' exile is not specified.

**Chaldaeorum**: astrologers. **arte**: for the abl. cf. *Intr.* II 20.

§ 2. **ventitare . . . ratus**, 'thinking that it was not without a purpose that messengers were always coming to consult him.' 'Nuntios et consultationes,' hendiadys, as though = 'nuntios qui eum consultarent.' A charge of conspiracy could be grounded on consulting the future in reference to the emperor, cf. ch. 30.

**P. Anteio**: cf. xiii 22, 2.

§ 3. **nescium**, passively, 'unknown.' (*Intr.* II 51 d, ad fin.).

**Agrippinae**: objective gen.

**praecipuas ad**, 'were specially adapted for.'

§ 4. **dies genitilis**: referring to the casting of his horoscope.



**secretis** : abl. of place, 'in Pammenes' private receptacles.'

**Ostorii Scapulae** : see xiv 48.

**imminere rebus**, 'were menacing the empire.'

§ 5. **liburnicae** = biremes.

**obsignaret** : seven Roman citizens were required as witnesses to the signature of a will ; all feared to stand as witnesses to Anteius' will, not daring to acknowledge themselves as his friends. (Subj. after 'ut,' but imperf. like 'ibatur,' xiii 2, 1, of an incomplete tendency: Intr. II 38.)

**nisi**, &c., 'had not Tigellinus authorized them to do so, from having first recommended Anteius not to delay in making his last dispositions.'

§ 6. **hausto veneno** : Intr. II 21 c.

CH. 15, § 1. **apud finem**, 'on the boundary of'; cf. 'ad finem Campanum,' Livy ix 6, 10.

§ 2. **multa militari fama** : abl. of quality.

**civicam coronam**, &c. : by saving a fellow-citizen's life in his father's victory over the Iceni, circ. 47 A.D. (*Ann.* xii 31, 7).

**coniuratione** : that of Piso.

§ 4. **hactenus**, 'only to this extent,' cf. xiv 3, 2.

**iugulo** : ablative, 'he met (the point) with his throat.'

CH. 16. The general argument of this chapter is as follows : 'This catalogue of tyrannical executions grows tedious, and the lack of spirit shown by the victims might incline the historian to pass contemptuously over any record of their death. I do not however avoid such record : these horrors were due to the wrath of Heaven, and the victims deserve pity not condemnation. The historian must record evil as well as good ; here I have to describe not a single calamity suffered by the whole body of the state and capable of narration in a single passage, but one that was distributed over a multitude of persons who, owing to their distinguished position, require individual mention.'

§ 1. **tanta casuum similitudine**, 'all attended by such uniformity of painful detail.'

**meque** : the apodosis begins here, and 'meque' is answered by 'aliorumque.'

**aspernantium**, 'disliking' (cf. xiv 42, 2). **quamvis**, &c., 'who, however noble those deaths might be, would dislike the unending tale of misery.'

§ 2. **nunc**, 'as the case is.'

**maestitia restringunt**, 'oppress,' 'paralyse' the mind with grief. Perhaps, however, 'maestitiam' should be read ; then 'restringunt' = 'bind fast,' 'suppress.' Madv. suggests 'restringunt' = 'quench,' which, if we may adopt 'maestitiam,' gives much the same meaning.

**neque**, &c., 'and I shall not demand from my readers any further excuse, except that I need not show hate for those who died so tamely' (by omitting to record their deaths).

§ 3. **ira illa**, &c. : cf. 'fatali omnium ignavia,' xv 61, 6.

- captivitate, 'occupation by an enemy,' cf. xiii 25, 2.  
 semel edito, 'after a single mention of the fact,' cf. Intr. II 21 a.  
 § 4. posteritati, 'the future,' i.e. their posthumous renown: cf. 'sola posteritatis cura,' *H.* ii 53, 3.  
 promisca, 'ordinary,' i.e. without 'imaginum pompa,' 'laudatio,' and public attendance invited by proclamation.  
 supremorum, 'of their end,' cf. 'ad suprema,' ch. II, 3.  
 CH. 17, § 1. Cerialis Anicius: xv 74, 3.  
 C. Petronius: see next ch.  
 equites . . . dignitate senatoria: knights with senatorial census (i.e. possessing at least 1,000,000 sesterces), 'equites illustres.'  
 § 2. praefectus praetorii: he had been removed from this position through Agrippina's influence, *Ann.* xii 42, 1. For his banishment see xv 71, 8.  
 § 3. Gallio: xv 73, 4.  
 parentibus: xiv 53, 5.  
 praeposteram, lit. 'wrong side foremost,' i.e. 'peculiar,' 'eccentric.' The 'equites illustres' might hold such important posts as those of praefectus praetorii, vigilum, annonae, and Egypti, and so might become superior in influence and wealth to senators.  
 administrandis: dative of purpose.  
 § 4. rem familiarem: Lucan must have been wealthy, from the allusion to his 'horti marmorei,' *Juv.* vii 79, and evidently his property had not been confiscated after his suicide.  
 requirit, 'calls in' from his debtors. Romanus may have been one.  
 § 5. mixta, &c., 'the charge was invented that the father shared his son's complicity in the plot.'  
 adsimilatis, 'forged.'  
 ad eum, 'to Mela,' by way of denunciation of his guilt.  
 § 6. Capitonem: xiii 33, 3.  
 § 7. additur, &c.: the actual addition to his will begins at 'se quidem,' 'tamquam . . . scripsisset' being a parenthetical explanation of the assignable reason for such an insertion, 'as though he had so written in complaint of the injustice of his death.' (With the alternative reading, 'scripsisse,' we must translate 'he is made to have written in addition,' &c., and take 'codicillis' as ablative, 'in his will'.)  
 § 8. composita, 'to have been invented,' by Nero's creatures. (If 'scripsisse' is read in § 7 the invention would be Mela's.)  
 proditam . . . coniurationem: the circumstances are not known.  
 CH. 18, § 1. Petronius is believed to be the author of the *Satirae*, of which considerable fragments remain, written in the form of the narrative of the experiences of a Greek 'libertus' in various towns in S. Italy. The longest of these fragments, known as the 'Supper of Trimalchio,' describes an entertainment given by a vulgar millionaire.  
 pauca, &c., 'a slight retrospect must be made.'  
 profligator, 'spendthrift'; cf. 'profligare opes,' *Nep.*, and *Intr.* II 51 a.

**haurientium** = 'exhaurientium' (Intr. II 28).

**erudito luxu** : ablative of quality, 'a man who had made an art of luxury.'

§ 2. **solutiora**, 'more free from all restraint'; cf. 'solutius,' xiii 47, 2.

**sui neglegentiam**, 'carelessness,' 'disregard of consequences.'

**in speciem**, &c., 'as displaying a sincere nature'; the language of this section indicates that he took a free tone with Nero, as well as disregarded all moral restraint.

§ 3. **consul** : **suffectus**, in some year unknown.

§ 4. **revolutus . . . imitatione** : for similar co-ordination of participle and ablative cf. xiii 47, 1, and Intr. II 64 f.

**inter paucos familiarium**, 'among his few most intimate friends,' i.e. 'as one of his most intimate friends.' Cf. 'inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades' (Liv. xxii 7, 1), 'spoken of as among few,' i.e. 'equalled by few,' 'one of the worst.'

**elegantiae arbiter**, 'the authority on taste,' not a formal title, though it describes his position at Court, and may well have been applied to him as a kind of nick-name, and substituted humorously by himself for his real cognomen in the title of his book, given in MSS. as 'Petronii Arbitri Satirae.' An alternative supposition in regard to the latter point is that 'arbitri' was inserted in the MS. by some grammarian who wished to mark the identity of the satirist with the courtier described by Tacitus.

**adfluentia** : causal ablative, 'owing to abundance,' 'in his satiety.'

**adprobavisset** : frequentative, cf. Intr. II 41.

§ 5. **adgreditur**, 'addresses himself to,' 'proceeds to work upon.' **Scaevini** : cf. xv 49, 4.

**adempta** : i.e. no opportunity being given for it.

CH. 19, § 1. **Cumas usque** : Nero had probably gone to Baiae or Neapolis, and Petronius was on the way to join him.

**attinebatur**, 'was detained,' cf. xiii 15, 4.

**timoris aut spei moras** : cf. 'cunctantibus prolatantibusque spem ac metum,' xv 51, 1.

§ 2. **praeceps** : adverbial, cf. 'properi,' ch. 11, 4.

**ut libitum**, 'as the humour took him.'

§ 3. **audiebatque**, &c. : a contrast to the conduct of more serious persons, who sought the consolations of philosophy before death; cf. xiv 59, 2; xvi 34.

**levia . . . faciles**, 'frivolous . . . playful'; **carmina**, 'lyrics'; **versus**, hexameters or iambics.

§ 5. **quem** : Intr. II 3 b.

**sub nominibus**, 'giving the names,' to show Nero that the details of his vices were not secrets.

**ne mox**, &c. : so that it should be impossible to implicate other persons by documents forged over his signature, as had been done in the case of Lucan, ch. 17, 5. Pliny also states that Petronius broke a valuable cup, 'trullam murrinam trecentis millibus emptam fregit,' to keep it out of Nero's clutches.

CH. 20, § 1. *noctium suarum ingenia*, 'the ingenuities of his nocturnal vices.' So in *xiv* 3, 5 '*ingenium*' = 'inventiveness,' of a person. *offertur*, 'occurred to him.'

*tamquam*, 'on the ground that.' *proprio odio*: causal ablative, 'out of personal hatred,' as contrasted with his reason for destroying Thermus, in the next section.

§ 2. *quaedam . . . detulerat*, 'had brought some incriminating information against Tigellinus,' with disastrous consequences to himself and his master; for a similar instance of the danger of attacking a favourite of the emperor, cf. *xiii* 33, 4.

CH. 21, § 1. *Thræsea*: cf. *xiii* 49.

*Barea Soranus* is mentioned *Ann.* *xii* 53, 2, as consul designatus and voting a reward to the freedman Pallas, probably under pressure from Agrippina, as the elder Pliny says the measure was carried '*iubente Agrippina*.' His son-in-law Annius Pollio had already been exiled as sharing in Piso's conspiracy, *xv* 71, 6.

*ut memoravi*: *xiv* 12, 2.

*Iuvenalium*: see *xiv* 15, 1.

*parum spectabilem*, &c., 'had been backward in giving his services at the Juvenalia,' in the way of applauding Nero, or, as the following sentence suggests, as a performer.

*cetastis*: so *Méd.* Possibly the word is a corruption for '*cetariis*,' and the festival was held by persons connected with the tunny fisheries of the Adriatic, from which Patavium (Padua) is not far distant. The correction is supported by the existence of an inscription found near Patavium to a '*Iusor epidixib(us) et cetaes*' (which latter word is taken as a Greek dative to '*cetae*,' '-aes' for '-ais'), and of the word '*cetariis*' in a letter of Pomponius Secundus to Thræsea quoted in Charisius.

*Antenore*: traditional founder of Patavium (*Liv.* *i* 1, 2; *Verg. Aen.* *i* 247).

*habitu tragico cecinerat*: cf. *xv* 65, 2.

§ 2. *Antistius*: *xiv* 48.

*damnabatur*: cf. '*decernebat*,' *xv* 74, 4.

*deum honores Poppæae*: not previously mentioned.

§ 3. *concidisset*, 'had been condemned,' cf. *xiii* 33, 3.

CH. 22, § 1. *sollemne ius iurandum*: the oath maintaining the 'acta' of the princes and his predecessors, cf. below § 5, and *xiii* 11, 1, which together with the '*sacramentum in nomen principis*' was renewed annually on January 1.

*votorum*, '*vota pro incolumitate reipublicae*' were taken on January 1, and those '*pro incolumitate principis*' on the 3rd. All the priestly colleges took part in them.

*quindecimvirali*: the '*quindecimviri*' kept the Sibylline books, and had special charge of the '*ludi saeculares*.' The '*collegium*,' at first consisting of two, was raised to ten when opened to plebeians, and to fifteen by Sulla.

*qui*, &c., 'who took a prominent part in supporting or opposing quite ordinary matters before the House' (cf. *xiii* 49, 1).

**non introisse**: such non-attendance might under the Republic be punished with a fine, and Dio mentions that Augustus and Claudius enforced this; the language of Nero, ch. 27, 2 (unless applying to Thrasea only) would show that attendance in the senate had again become lax.

**Silanum et Veterem**: chs. 7, 3 and 11, 6.

**privatis**, &c., 'had preferred to give his time to the private affairs of his clients,' by appearing in their support in the law-courts.

§ 2. **id**: this use of the neuter pronoun, where its gender would more classically be attracted to that of the noun referred to, is common in Tacitus. The usage appears first in Vergil, as 'nec sopor illud erat,' *Aen.* iii 173.

**partes**, 'a formation of parties,' as though Thrasea was heading a Republican party against Nero and the Imperialists (cf. xiii 18, 3).

**Catonem**: quoted as the leading representative of the republican opposition to Julius Caesar.

**te, Nero, et Thraseam** ... loquitur. Cf. 'Pharsaliam ... loquebantur,' *H.* i 50 3.

§ 3. **sectatores**, &c., 'a following, or rather a retinue': the first word applying to the followers of a republican politician, the latter to the bodyguard of a potentate.

**sententiarum**: opinions given in the senate.

**quo**, &c., 'so as to reproach you with wantonness.'

§ 4. **etiam ... non**: for 'ne ... quidem,' so xiii 3, 6.

**in acta**, &c.: the 'acta' of Gaius and Tiberius were omitted from the annual oath, which therefore at this time mentioned only those of Julius, Augustus, Claudius, and Nero himself. The name of Claudius is dropped here as less acceptable to Nero than the other two.

§ 6. **diurna**: the daily Gazette (sc. 'acta'), giving the minutes of procedure in the senate and the law courts, and other official information (Intr. I 3).

**quid ... non fecerit**, 'what Thrasea has abstained from,' in public life.

§ 7. **illa instituta**: i. e. the republicanism desired by Thrasea.

**ista secta**: i. e. Stoicism.

**Tuberoes et Favonios**, 'men like Tubero and Favonius'; rhetorical plurals: cf. xv 14, 3. Q. Aelius Tubero, a nephew of the younger Africanus and an opponent of the Gracchi, is mentioned by Cicero as a Stoic of high character, but of too rigid austerity and 'perversa sapientia.' M. Favonius, one of the 'optimates' prominent in resistance to Julius Caesar, was taken prisoner at Philippi and put to death.

§ 9. **nihil scripseris**, 'send no mandate' (cf. ch. 7, 3).

**disceptatorem**: in its capacity of criminal high court, cf. Intr. III 8.

§ 10. **extollit** = 'incendit.'

*ira promptum*: cf. 'audacia promptus,' xiv 40, 3. For Capito's enmity to Thræsea cf. ch. 21, 3.

*Marcellum Eprum*: cf. xiii 33, 4.

*acri eloquentia*, 'a man of biting eloquence.'

CH. 23, § 1. *ex proconsulatu*, 'for matters arising out of his proconsulship.' Soranus was consul in 52 A.D., and proconsul 61-62 A.D. Rubellius Plautus retired to Asia in 60 A.D. and was put to death there in 62 A.D. (xiv 59). The mention of Acratus therefore seems to be either an error, as his mission to Asia is placed after the great fire of 64 A.D. (xv 45, 3), or else he was originally sent fully two years before that date and perhaps sent out a second time after it.

*portui Ephesiorum aperiendo*: it was silting up owing to the deposits from the Cayster.

§ 2. *ambitio*, &c., 'courting popularity so as to win over the province to the hope of a revolution.' (*conciliandae*, dative of purpose.)

§ 3. *Tiridates . . . adventabat*: cf. xv 29-31 and Appendix to this book.

*ut*, &c., 'that the atrocity at home might be less noticed through the general talk turning on foreign affairs.' With *ad externa* we may supply the idea of such a participle as 'versis': so in *Ann.* xi 23, 3 'exempla . . . ad virtutem et gloriam,' 'examples in respect of' (as though 'spectantia ad') 'valour and renown.'

*regio*: i. e. like the normal conduct of an oriental king.

CH. 24, § 1. *ad excipiendum*: Nero met Tiridates at Naples and escorted him to Rome. Some interval may be understood to elapse between Capito's denunciations in ch. 22 and the formal accusation in § 3 of this chapter.

*codicillos*, 'a memorial,' 'petition.'

*requirens*, 'requesting to know.'

*expurgaturum*: sc. 'se.' Cf. ch. 9, 3.

§ 3. *spiritus*, 'high spirit' (cf. xiii 21, 9).

CH. 25, § 1. *proximos*, 'his most intimate friends.'

*esse*: sc. 'se.' Cf. ch. 24, 1.

§ 2. *supremis*: cf. 'ad suprema,' ch. 11, 3: *circumdare*, 'throw a veil of privacy over their end.'

*morti obvium*, 'looking death in the face.'

*ipso miraculo*, 'by the very miracle' of such courage.

CH. 26, § 1. *domui*: so Med. This form of 'domi' is also read in many good MSS. of Cicero.

*eadem*: understand from the context a verb = 'they said.' Cf. Intr. II 27.

§ 2. *manus*, &c., 'would raise their hands in violence against him.' 'Manus ictusque' may be regarded as hendiadys. *ingesturi sint* is a correction for Med. 'augusti' (without 'sint'). An emendation nearer to the MS. is to read 'ictusque parent. Immanitatem Augusti etiam bonos metu sequi'; but it is very unusual to find 'Augusti' used of the emperor in ordinary language.

§ 3. *detraheret* = 'avertet.'

*quem perornavisset*: (1) 'of which he had been *through life* the ornament,' cf. 'perviguere,' *Ann.* iv 34, 6; or (2) 'of which he had been the highest ornament,' giving 'per' a superlative force, cf. 'perornatus' in *Cic.*, and *Intr.* II 51 c.

§ 4. *ut*, &c., 'the hope by which they were prompted, the hope that Nero, &c., was futile.' 'Ut' depends on 'spe' (and naturally so, since 'hoping' and 'praying' are close together in meaning); cf. 'in spem induxit ut,' *Cic. Off.* ii 15, 53.

*pignora*: properly of children, but also generally of near relatives, cf. xv 36, 5; 57, 3.

§ 5. *quorum . . . finem*, 'let him seek his end with (i. e. winning) the glory of those in whose footsteps and teaching he had ordered his life'; 'gloria,' ablative of accompaniment; *Intr.* II 22 a. Or, taking 'gloria' as pregnant, for 'glorioso exemplo,' 'according to the noble example of,' &c. Madvig's suggestion is ingenious, that a stroke above the line (=m) has been misplaced, and that the true reading is 'gloriam peteret fine,' 'he should by his end seek the glory of those,' &c., referring to the Stoic recommendation to suicide under certain circumstances, of which Cato's death at Utica was an approved example.

§ 6. **Rusticus Arulenus**: praetor 69 A.D. (*H.* iii 80, 3). He suffered death under Domitian for his biography of Thræsea.

*flagrans*, 'ardent.'

*intercessurum*: under the Empire the intercessio of a tribune was only exercised on sufferance (*Ann.* i 77, 3), and might subsequently be fatal to the tribune, as in the case of Junius Otho, *Ann.* vi 47, and as Thræsea anticipates on this occasion. (See also *Intr.* III 3.)

*spiritus*: cf. ch. 24, 3.

*et . . . non*: cf. ch. 34, 3 'que . . . non.'

§ 7. *actam*: cf. 'Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi,' Verg. *Aen.* iv 653.

*continuum*, &c., 'the unbroken tenour of his life.'

*integra*, &c., 'his future was unaffected,' not yet compromised. Cf. 'integra utrique cuncta,' xv 17, 1.

§ 8. *multum*, &c., 'let him weigh well beforehand what course of political action he would adopt in such times.'

CH. 27, § 1. *armatae*, 'in full panoply.' Usually in the city they wore the toga (cf. 'globus togatorum' below), even when on duty and though armed with sword and spear.

*templum Genetricis Veneris*: in the centre of the forum of Julius Caesar (north-east of the old forum). The goddess was worshipped under that title as ancestress, through Aeneas and Iulus, of the Julian gens.

*globus . . . gladiis*, 'the way to the senate-house was beset by a band of soldiers in undress, with swords significantly visible.'

*fora*: the forum Romanum, Iulii, and Augusti.

*basilicas*: such as the 'basilica Aemilia' and the 'basilica

Julia.' They were public buildings used as courts of justice or Exchanges for business men, and, in their division by columns into nave and aisles, were the architectural ancestors of Christian churches.

**cunei**, 'detachments.'

§ 2. **curiam**: built by Augustus on the site of the old house close to the Forum. It had escaped the late fire, but was burnt down under Titus. The troops, then, were thus disposed: a body of 'togati' at the entrance of the 'Curia,' other detachments in places closely adjoining, and a large imposing force occupying like a fortress the neighbouring temple and precinct.

**oratio**: cf. ch. 7, 3.

**per quaestorem eius**: the two quaestors 'commended' for election by the 'princeps' were attached to him in his proconsular capacity. Cf. Intr. III 2.

**nemine**: this abl. occurs in *H.* ii 47, 6, as well as in a passage of Plautus, in a fragment of Cicero, and in several places in Suetonius.

§ 3. **haud veniri**: those whose absence is thus palliated are knights, neglecting their judicial duties in Rome to ply their business as 'negotiatores' or 'publicani' all over the empire.

**plerique**='permulti.' The charge is however clearly pointed at Thræsea.

**hortorum**, &c., 'preferred to give all their energies to the beauty of their gardens' (i. e. to beautifying them), so 'inservire artibus,' Cicero.

CH. 28, § 1. **faciente**: aoristic (Intr. II 42).

**summam rem publicam agi**, 'that the highest interests of the state were affected.'

**deminui**, 'was being impaired,' i. e. that Nero was being forced to adopt severe measures.

§ 2. **desciscentem**: cf. 'secessionem iam id et partes,' ch. 22, 2.

**Helvidius Priscus** is fully described in *H.* iv 5. He was quaestor of Achaia under Nero (Schol. on Juv. v 36), and shortly afterwards married Thræsea's daughter Fannia. After returning from the exile to which he was condemned by Nero, he was prominent in attacking Eprius Marcellus, and became praetor in 70 A.D. He was a second time banished by Vespasian, and subsequently executed (Suet. *Vesp.* 15).

**Paconium Agrippinum**; a famous Stoic, son of M. Paconius (*Ann.* iii 67, 1) who, it is supposed, was one of those who perished on alleged complicity with Seianus and whose fate was related in the lost portion of *Ann.* v.

**Curtium Montanum**: prominent in the senate at Vespasian's accession, *H.* iv 40, 2. In ch. 29 the libellous character of his poetry is denied, and it is asserted that he was disliked by Nero simply as a rival poet.

**eludere**, 'mock.'

§ 3. **requirere**, 'miss the presence of,' i. e. call him to account for neglect of duty (cf. the charges against Thræsea in ch. 22, 1).



**nisi**, &c., 'unless Thræsea had openly assumed the character of a traitor.' Some such expression as 'proditoris partes induisset' might be expected as more usual; cf. 'femina . . . munia ducis . . . induit,' *Ann.* i 69, 2; but the construction is assimilated to that of 'agere senatorem' immediately following.

**contra**, 'in defiance of,' cf. xiv 43, 1.

§ 4. **agere senatorem**: cf. xiii 14, 1; 46, 5.

**obtrectatores**: such as Antistius (xiv 48).

§ 5. **pacem**, &c.: at the end of hostilities in Armenia, peace throughout the empire had ensued, cf. xv 46, 2; and Nero closed the temple of Janus, a fact commemorated by inscriptions on coins of the time.

**victorias**: referring to Tiridates' submission, xv 27-31.

**pro solitudine haberet**, 'regarded as a desert'; the multitudes that flocked to such places were nothing to him; he avoided scenes of public interest as if they contained nothing he cared to see.

**qui minitaretur**, 'one who threatened his own exile'; i.e. so haughty that he acted as if he thought that his exile would be Rome's loss, not his own.

§ 6. **illi**: dative of Agent, 'were not seen by him,' 'he avoided the sight of.'

**abrumperet vitam**: an echo of Vergil's 'nequeo crudelem abrumperere vitam,' *Aen.* xiii 579.

CH. 29, § 1. **per**, &c., 'throughout a speech to this effect.'

**ardesceret**: by zeugma with 'voce' and 'vultu'; cf. xv 4, 4, 'accenderant.'

**celebritate** (so Med.) = 'frequency.' This is the only instance of the word being used in this sense.

**manus et tela** = 'tela in manibus,' cf. 'non occultis gladiis,' ch. 27, 1.

§ 2. **obversabatur**, 'was before them,' in their mind's eye; Thræsea was not present (cf. xiv 63, 2).

§ 3. **tristem patris fortunam**: see ch. 28, 2.

§ 4. **enimvero**: laying stress on a still stronger case, 'as for Montanus,' &c.

**famosi**, 'slandereous.'

**quia**, &c., 'because he gave evidence of his talent,' and so provoked Nero's jealousy.

CH. 30, § 1. **interim**: before the vote was taken on Thræsea's case.

**ingreditur**: sc. 'curiam.' Ostorius was not a senator, so would only come in to deliver his accusation.

**quodque**, &c., literally, 'and that he had carried out his proconsulate of Asia in a way rather adapted to himself in accordance with renown,' i.e. so as to redound to his own glorification.

**alendo seditiones civitatum**: referring to his sympathy with Pergamum against Acratus; see ch. 23, 1. For the ablative cf. xv 8, 3, 'percursando.'

§ 2. *recens*, &c.: the sense is 'sed hoc, quod (filia) . . . dilargita esset, erat crimen recens et quo (accusator) . . . conectebat.'

*magis*: the term 'magi,' sometimes confused with 'Chaldaei' (=astrologers), properly denotes dealers in philtres, spells, and incantations. Servilia would be accused not only of trying to divine the future, but also of seeking to bind the emperor by spells.

§ 3. *acciderat*: sc. 'id.'

*non tamen aliud consultaverat*: a short way of expressing 'consultaverat, non tamen aliud quaesiverat' (cf. xv 13, 2).

*cognitio*: cf. II, 1.

*nihil atrox*, 'no extreme penalty.'

§ 4. *diversi*, 'separated from each other.'

*tribunal consulum*: the expression strictly applies to the consular seat of judgement in the comitium, but is used here, though the trial was in the senate, because the consuls would be presiding.

*in exilium pulso*: cf. xv 71, 6.

*onerasse*, 'to have aggravated.' *videbatur*: sc. 'sibi.'

CH. 31, § 1. *cultus dotales*, 'the ornaments given at her marriage.'

*longo fletu et silentio*: cf. xv 54, 1 'multo sermone.'

*altaria et aram*: a statue and altar of Victory stood in the Curia Julia. 'Altaria,' when distinguished from 'ara,' sometimes means a superstructure placed upon the permanent 'ara' to receive burnt or other offerings, and so may also indicate the offerings themselves, as in Quint. (*Decl.* 12, 25) 'aris imponere altaria,' and Luc. iii 404 'structae diris altaribus arae'; sometimes, on the other hand, 'altaria' is explained as a grander kind of altar than 'ara,' and in a fragment of Pacuvius, 'exanimis altaribus,' the sense has been given, agreeing with the derivation from 'altus,' of a raised threshold or step. The alternative renderings therefore will be (1) 'the altar with its offerings,' or, (2) 'the altar-steps and the altar.'

*nullos . . . invocavi*, 'I have appealed to no powers of evil, have laid no curse on any one, and have sought nothing else in my wretched prayers,' &c. 'Invocavi' has a different sense with 'nullos impios deos' and with 'aliud,' and from it must be supplied an appropriate verb such as 'imprecata sum' with 'nullas devotiones.' (For other instances of zeugma, see Intr. II 60.)

*tu, Caesar*: this direct address to the 'princeps' does not necessarily mean that he was present. Cf. ch. 22, 2.

§ 2. *quo modo*: sc. 'dedissem.'

§ 3. *viderint isti*, 'let them (i. e. the 'magi') see to it,' i. e. it is their concern if the rites were unholy; I only paid them to tell me the future.

CH. 32, § 1. *excipit*, 'interrupts.'

*separarent*, 'let them distinguish between the case of one who was on her trial only for too great devotion to him and his own case.'

§ 2. *ruebat, nisi*: cf. xiii 2, 1; Intr. II 38.

**P. Egnatius**: his cognomen was Celer. His impeachment by Musonius Rufus and banishment, in 70 A. D., are described in *H.* iv 10, 1; 40, 4. Juvenal gives a vigorous denunciation of him in *Sat.* iii 116, and foll.

§ 3. *imaginem*, 'outward show.' *honesti*: neut.

*exercitus*: cf. 'Graeca doctrina ore tenus exercitus,' xv 45, 4.

*quae*, &c., 'and since these qualities were revealed in him by a bribe, he gave us warning to be on our guard not only against those wrapped in wickedness and stained with crime, but also against those who under a mask of virtue are deceitful and false in their friendship.' '*amicitiae*' genitive of reference with '*fallaces*,' cf. *Intr.* II 24 c.

CH. 33, § 1. *idem* . . . *dies*: cf. the similar personification in xiv 41, 1.

**Cassii Asclepiodoti**: he returned from exile under Galba (Dio). *celebraverat*, 'had honoured.'

*exutusque*: sc. 'est.'

*aequitate*, &c.: causal (*Intr.* II 19), 'through the indifference of Heaven to examples of good and evil conduct.' The sentiment is Epicurean.

§ 3. **Helvidius**: returned under Galba (*Schol.* on *Juv.* v 36).

§ 4. *patri concessus est*, 'was forgiven for his father's sake'; so '*precibus alicuius concedere*' in *Ann.* ii 55, 2; iv 31, 1. His father was a noted gourmand, and boon companion of Nero, and subsequently of Domitian.

*praedicto*, 'injunction being given'; the participle is not elsewhere thus used in ablative absolute. (See also *Intr.* II 21 b.)

*ne*, &c.: i. e. that he should not continue in the service of the state, hold any magistracy.

*quinguagens*, *duodeciens*: understand 'centena millia' with each. These enormous rewards, in excess of the minimum senatorial census, must have been more than one-fourth of the property of the accused, which was the amount the accusers could legally expect.

*quaestoria insignia*: i. e. the ornaments of a senator of the lowest grade. Hitherto Ostorius' rank was that of 'eques,' ch. 23, 1.

CH. 34, § 1. *quaestor consulis*: in old times each consul had attached to him one quaestor, and, from 38 B. C., two. These remained in the same department of office throughout the year, notwithstanding change of consuls. As the consuls presided at the trial (ch. 30, 4), one of their quaestors would be the proper person to communicate the sentence to the condemned; probably also he had to see it carried out, cf. ch. 35, 2.

§ 2. *egerat* = 'coegerat' (*Intr.* II 28).

**Demetrius** is mentioned by Seneca with much admiration in several passages. Philostratus, who speaks of him teaching at Corinth, calls him ἀνὴρ συνειληφῶς πᾶν τὸ ἐν Κυνικῇ κρᾶτος. In

*H.* iv 40, 5 he appears defending Egnatius Celer (ch. 32, 2), and in 71 A. D. he was exiled by Vespasian with other philosophers.

*erat*: for 'licebat'; cf. 'ex quo est coniectare' (Gell. vi 6, 11). This Graecism, though frequent in poets, is very rare in prose; it occurs in Liv. xlii 41, 2 and Tac. *G.* 5, 4 (Intr. II 66).

*intentione*, 'from the earnestness.'

§ 3. *facessere* = 'abire.' For this infinitive and 'miscere' cf. Intr. II 31.

*Arriae matris*: Arria, wife of Caecina Paetus, voluntarily shared her husband's death when he was condemned for his share in the conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus against Claudius in 42 A. D. She stabbed herself first, and handed the dagger to her husband with the words, 'Paete, non dolet' (Pliny, *Ep.* iii 16, 6; Martial i 14).

*filiae* = Fannia, married to Helvidius Priscus: she was accompanied into banishment by her mother, and eventually returned with her in the time of Nerva.

*-que . . . non*: so 'et . . . non,' ch. 26, 6.

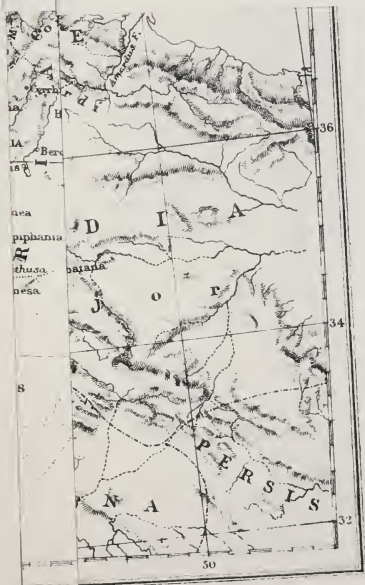
CH. 35, § 2. *porrec'is*: i. e. to the physician, to cut (cf. Schol. on Juv. v 36 'secandas venas praebuit').

*humum super*: anastrophe. Cf. Intr. II 55.

*libamus, &c.*: cf. the action of Seneca, xv 64, 4.

§ 3. *iuvenis*: addressed to the quaestor, who need not have been more than twenty-five.

*obversis*: probably followed by 'oculis.' One of his last sayings is given in a fragment of Dio, ὁ Νέρων ἀποκτεῖναι μέν με δύναται, ἀπολέσαι δὲ οὐ δύναται.







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